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MEGILLAT TAANIT

AS A SOURCE FOR JEWISH CHRONOLOGY AND HISTORY IN THE HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN PERIODS

BY

SOLOMON ZEITLIN

A THESIS SUBMITTED FEBRUARY 1917
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN THE DROPSIE COLLEGE FOR HEBREW AND COGNATE LEARNING

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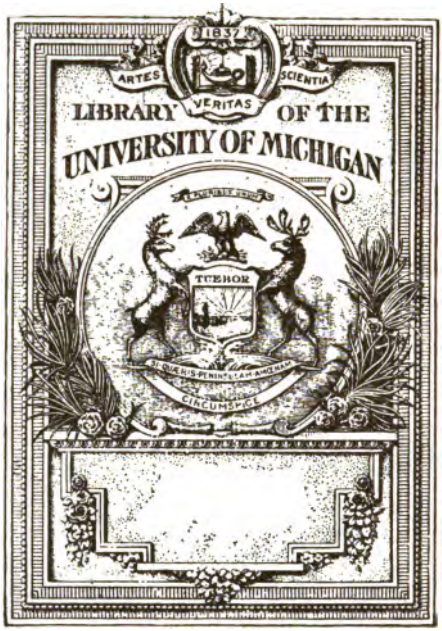

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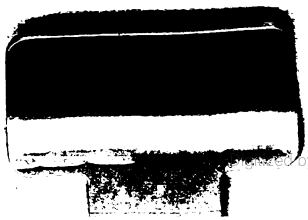

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IN MEMORY OF

MY BELOVED TEACHER

BARON DAVID DE GÜNZBURG

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PREFACE

THE main sources of the history of the Second Commonwealth are: the first and second books of Maccabees, Josephus' Works, and the Tannaitic Literature.

In dealing with the Tannaitic Literature one ought not to lose sight of the fact that it has reached us through the medium of the Amoraim, who at times incorporated in the Tannaitic texts their own interpretations. The relative historical values of first and second Maccabees is a much disputed question. The crucial point in this controversy is, Which of these two books is more exact in its chronological dates? Some scholars believe that they have found the chronology of first Maccabees in agreement with what is known to us from reliable Greek historians, and hence decide in its favour against second Maccabees; while others take the opposite view. Similarly scholars have questioned many a statement by Josephus on account of the discrepancy between him and the Greco-Roman historians with regard to the chronology.

With the help of the Megillat Taanit I trust that I have shown the identity of the dates given in first and second Maccabees and in Josephus, and thereby have removed all discrepancy, thus reinvesting their statements with historical significance and authority.

This was made possible by the discovery that the Palestinian Jews started to reckon the year beginning in the autumn 312 *as the year* 2 *of the Seleucidean Era. The first Book of Maccabees follows this method, while the second counts this year as first.*

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Of equally great significance I consider the establishment in the third chapter of the Sabbatic Cycles, so much discussed by modern scholars, Jewish and Christian, as well as by the great rabbis of the Middle Ages. The placing beyond doubt of the incidents dated by these Cycles will be recognized by all as important for the study of Jewish history as well as of the Halakah.

In the discussion of this most important document Megillat Taanit, I have offered many new interpretations which greatly differ from those of my predecessors. At first sight the reader may, under the influence of the scholia and of the modern literature, be reluctant to accept them. I hope that a careful study and comparison with the chronological statements of Josephus will convince the scholar of the soundness of my views. I have especially tried to show that our Megillah throws new light on the great war against the Romans.

Megillat Taanit is a relic of the literature of the 'Fourth Philosophy'. It is well known that toward the close of the Second Commonwealth two divisions arose among the Pharisees: the Apocalyptic one and the Fourth Philosophical School, i.e. the 'Sicarii' (see S. Zeitlin, 'Judas the Galilean and Jesus of Nazareth', *Jewish Forum*, 1918). Among the former, from whom Christianity originated, grew up the pseudepigraphic literature, which was preserved by the adherents of the new religion. The other division of the Pharisees, the leaders of the revolt (Sicarii), must also have given literary expression to their views. However, since they had been responsible for the revolt against the Romans which ended so disastrously for the Jewish people, they were, after the destruction of the Second Temple, viewed with hostility, and this not only by the rest of the nation but also by the Pharisees. Consequently no one took the pains to preserve their

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literature. The Tannaitic statement (Shabbat 13 b) that the Megillah was composed by Eleazar ben Hananiah, the well-known leader of the revolt against the Romans, shows that the Megillah is a remnant of a literature by the Revolutionary Party.

The Jews, after the destruction of the Temple, paid no attention to the holidays (except Purim and Ḥanukkah) as the *raison d'être* for celebrating them had ceased. It is true, we do find some discussion by the Tannaim and Amoraim concerning them, but they were purely of a theoretical nature, while the people in actual life knew nothing of them.

While studying in Berlin in 1914, I worked out the major part of this treatise on the Megillah (and the Scholia). I take occasion now to express my thanks to Professors Elbogen and Täubler for their willingness to incorporate this study in the publications of the Lehranstalt für die Wissenschaft des Judentums, but owing to the war this treatise was not published.

While in the Dropsie College I revised and enlarged the treatise, but decided to omit the part dealing with the Scholia—changing my plan in this respect. I hope, however, on another occasion to treat of the value of the Talmud as a source for Jewish history, and then I shall have occasion to discuss these Scholia.

As the book has been in the press for some years, I might have added further discussion on the interpretations of some of the data of the Megillah, but since my main concern was to throw light on the chronology employed by first and second Maccabees, Josephus and the Tannaim, I have preferred to leave things as they are, without any changes. I hope to have occasion to deal again with certain data, mentioned in the Megillah in another connexion. I greatly regret that at the present stage I cannot publish the

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Appendices, as I had expected, but I hope they will appear in a separate volume under the following heads: Fasti Judaici, from 170 B.C.E.–70 C.E.; The Era Sel. in Josephus; The Era of the Olympiad in Josephus; The Chronologies of the Hasmonean Dynasty, the Herodean Dynasty, and in the New Testament.

For encouragement in this treatise, and in my research work in general I am greatly indebted to Dr. Cyrus Adler, President of the Dropsie College, and to Prof. Israél Lévi, Grand Rabbin de France. Many valuable suggestions have been given me by my friends, Professors Louis Ginzberg, Henry Malter, and Alexander Marx.

This book I dedicate in memory of one of my earliest teachers, whose great enthusiasm for Jewish scholarship has been an influence in my life.

I wish to express my thanks to Mr. A. Dembitz and Dr. A. Neuman for their kindness in reading through my manuscript, and helping me put it into idiomatic English.

December, 1921.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

			PAGE
PREFACE			vii
CHAPTER	I.	Origin of the Megillat Taanit	1
,,	II.	Chronology in 1 and 2 Maccabees	6
,,	III.	The Order of the Sabbatical Cycles	17
,,	IV.	Contents and Characteristics of 1 and 2 Maccabees	33
,,	V.	The Calendar System in Bellum Iudaicum	45
,,	VI.	The Great Revolt against the Romans	58
,,	VII.	Megillat Taanit: Text and Translation	65
,,	VIII.	The Pre-Hasmonean Period	72
,,	IX.	The Period of the Hasmoneans	77
,,	X.	The Roman Period	87
,,	XI.	The Great War against the Romans	91
,,	XII.	Miscellaneous	116
NOTES			119
CONSPECTUS OF THE NUMBERS OF THE MEGILLAH			120

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MEGILLAT TAANIT AS A SOURCE FOR JEWISH CHRONOLOGY AND HISTORY IN THE HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN PERIODS

CHAPTER I

Origin of the Megillat Taanit.

The booklet, known as 'Megillat Taanit', gives a list of those days whereon, by reason of certain events therewith associated, Jews are not to fast. In most cases, brief reference is made to the events that severally mark them, while in a few instances nothing is said save that 'it is a Yom Tob whereon we are not to fast'. These days were semi-holidays, and their events were recorded in special scrolls to remind the people of these semi-festivals, which, on the other hand, were not to be put on a plane with the holidays ordained in the Pentateuch. To these semi-festivals the book of Judith refers when it says, 'Judith fasted all these days of her widowhood except the eves of Sabbaths, the Sabbaths, the days before new moons, the new moons, the holidays and days of rejoicing for the house of Israel', *καὶ χαρμοσυνῶν οἴκου Ἰσραήλ* (8. 6). It may be assumed that the present Megillat Taanit is one of a series of scrolls which circulated among the Jews in ancient times, commemorating important events in Jewish history. Megillat Taanit may properly be called the Jewish *monumentum aere perennius*.

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It has no parallel in Hebrew historical literature. It is not written in the narrative vein of the Books of the Maccabees, but consists of a series of unconnected events, which are arranged according to the Hebrew dates and divided according to the calendar into twelve chapters corresponding to the twelve Hebrew months from Nisan to Adar.

The Megillah is written in Aramaic. In age, Megillat Taanit ranks next to the Scriptures and Sirach, and is accorded great authority by the Tannaim, similar to that of the old Baraitot.[1] It is cited in the Mishnah, with the expression כתוב.[2] Of all the feast-days recorded in the Scroll, few are still observed. The other festivals have sunk into oblivion. This was quite natural. Their origin, as we

[1] Mishnah Taanit II (15b).

[2] It was considered of great authority by the sages of the Mishnah, so that the Tannaim of the first half of the second century were divided in their interpretation of it (Taanit, *ibid.* in the Mishnah). The Talmud Babli quotes the Megillah with the expression כתוב. In the Palestinian Talmud we find citations from the Megillah introduced by the expression תנא (Meg. 70 c). Incidentally it may be pointed out that the expression תנא is not necessarily an allusion to Oral Law, but also to a written Law. The opinion that the Mishnah was not written down until the time of Rabbi Ashi, which is based on the use of תנא and תנן in connexion with Mishnah and Baraita, thus loses much of its strength. תנא was used in the Talmud in the same manner as יסד and תקן in the Middle Ages. That the Mishnah was written down can be seen from the expression which the Amoraim employed when emending a passage in the Mishnah, viz. חסורי מיחסרא והכי קתני, thus implying a defective text, whereas the earlier Tannaim, like Rabbi Tarphon, used the expression שמע השומע ומעה. In the last mentioned case the word שמע implies oral tradition.

I wish to call attention here to a highly interesting variant which I found in a manuscript copy of the Tractate Abodah zarah (Spain, 1291) in the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. For לגרסינהו in the printed edition, the manuscript reads דהא מכתבא כתביא (לגרסינהו) (Ab. zarah 8 b). That the Mishnah was written down even before the time of Rabbi, I hope to demonstrate fully in a work on the History of the Oral Law.

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shall see, was connected with the victories of the Jews over the Syrians in the Hasmonean period and over the Roman armies in the beginning of the 'War of Vespasian'. When, therefore, the Sanctuary was destroyed and Jewish independence lost, their *raison d'être* was gone. Thus in the days of Rabbi Joshua, not long after the destruction of the Temple, we find that the people paid no attention to these holidays. They even fasted on Hanukkah (Rosh ha-Shanah 18 b). And this is in agreement with the statement of Rabbi Jose: 'Since the Temple is laid waste it is permissible to fast on the festive days which are enumerated in this Scroll' אין בית המקדש קיים מותרין מפני שאבל הוא להם. However, these semi-holidays were not formally abrogated by the rabbis. They gradually disappeared from the practices of the people, and this led to the discussion between Rab and Hanina, and their colleagues R. Johanan and R. Joshua ben Levi, as to whether the Yamim Tobim in the 'Megillah' are abrogated.[3]

In the course of this work it will be shown that the last event chronicled in our Megillah is one which took place on the 17th of Adar, 66 C. E. After this, Vespasian overcame all resistance in Galilee, and with the conclusion of the war the Jewish people lost its autonomy. This accords well with the date and circumstances of its composition which are preserved in a talmudic tradition. 'It was written', says the Talmud,[4] 'by the colleagues of [R. Eleazar ben] Hanina ben Hezekiah ben Garon', i. e. a few years before the destruction of the Second Temple. Eleazar was the leader of the Rebellion, whom Josephus charges with having incited the people against the Romans.

[3] Rosh ha-Shanah 18 b.

[4] Shabbat 13 b. See the next note.

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His object in circulating this Scroll was to show to the people that if they were fully resolved to throw off the yoke of the Romans they had as great prospect of success as the Hasmoneans and their followers had of throwing off the yoke of the Syrians.

This is corroborated by what the Talmud[5] says of its being compiled by חנינה וסיעתו [אלעזר בן], i.e. by Eleazar and his associates who were leaders of the party in favour of the war against the Romans.

The name by which we are accustomed to designate this book—'Megillat Taanit'—is indeed a misnomer, since it does not discuss Fasts; on the contrary, it points out certain days commemorative of joyful events and, declaring them 'Yom Tob', prohibits fasting thereon. It seems to me that the name 'Megillat Taanit' is of a later date, belonging either to the talmudic or post-talmudic period. Originally this book appears to have been called simply 'Megillah' (scroll or roll), and in this wise is referred to in the Mishnah. Thus in the Palestinian version of the Mishnah (Taanit 2) and in the Mishnah of Jerusalem (ed. W. H. Lowe, 1883) we meet with the expression כל הכתוב במגילה.[6]

This theory as to the original name of Megillat Taanit is corroborated through a scribal error which is revealed

[5] Shabbat 13 b. According to the Scholiast, it was ע"י סיעתו של ר' אליעזר בן חנניה בן חזקיה בן גרון. In Halakot Gedolot, p. 615 (ed. Hildesheimer) it is stated that this Megillah was written by the elders of Bet Shammai and Bet Hillel הם כתבו מגילת תענית בעלית אלעזר בן חנניה בן חזקיה בן גרון כשעלו לבקרו. See Derenbourg, *Essai sur l'histoire et la géographie de la Palestine*, Paris, 1867, note 1, and Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, III[5], part 2, p. 810.

[6] See *Dikduke Soferim*, Taanit, II, 1, and *ibid.*, 17 a where the manuscript reading of the Talmud Babli too is given as כל הכתוב במגילה; the same is the reading of the Bodleian MS. Cf. also Tosefta (ed. Zuckermandel) Taanit 2, 4: לימים טובים הכתובין במגילה.

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in the Munich MS. For Talmud Babli (Megillah 5b) which reads והכתיב במגילת תענית את יום ארבעה עשר ואת יום חמשה עשר יומי פוריא אינון, the Munich MS. reads במגילת אסתר את יום ארבעה עשר ואת יום חמשה עשר. This is a palpable error, since the passage, 'The fourteenth and fifteenth are יומי פוריא', is not quoted from the biblical scroll of Esther, but from the so-called 'Megillat Taanit'. This error is best explained by the assumption that the original text of the copyist read במגלה, which, owing to the context, he assumed, referred to the well-known biblical Scroll of Esther.

Besides the Aramaic text of the Megillah, there exists also a running commentary, or scholia, in Mishnic Hebrew, explaining the events which are mentioned in the Megillah. These scholia, all commentators are agreed, are not earlier than the Talmudic period.[7] That we cannot rely on the scholiast where he gives us what purports to be the historical cause[8] will be fully demonstrated in the course of this study.

[7] Weiss, *Dor Dor we Dorshaw*, II, p. xxv.

[8] Wellhausen, *Pharisäer und Sadducäer*, pp. 56–63.

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CHAPTER II

Chronology in Maccabees I and II.

A cursory examination of the Megillah reveals clearly that some of the events which are there referred to belong to the Maccabean period, and some are connected with the Great Revolt. The Books of the Maccabees and the works of Josephus are therefore the primary sources upon which the student must rely in order to determine the true character of the dates and events which are mentioned in the Megillah. Unfortunately, however, the dates mentioned in these books are based on different systems of chronology and cannot be readily identified. Before we can solve the many perplexing identifications of the dates of the Megillah, we shall therefore have to examine critically the respective chronological systems of the first and second Books of the Maccabees and of the *Bellum Iudaicum*.

It is well known that there exists a discrepancy of one year between the First and Second Book of Maccabees.[9] In both books of Maccabees the chronology is apparently based on the Seleucid era. In 1 Macc. (1. 10) this is

[9] According to 1 Macc., Antiochus Eupator laid siege to Jerusalem in the year 150 (6. 20-61; cp. 7. 1), while according to 2 Macc. (13. 1), this siege and the peace were in the year 149. Similarly, according to 1 Macc. (6. 16) Antiochus IV died in 149, while according to 2 Macc. (9. 28) he died in 148. (Compare 2 Macc. 11 which contains the letters of Antiochus Eupator to the Jews; while the letter in which reference is made to the recent death of his father (Antiochus IV) contains no date, still the presumption is that like the others, which are dated, it was written in 148.)

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clearly: *Ἀντίοχος Ἐπιφανής, υἱὸς Ἀντιόχου βασιλέως, ὃς ἦν ὅμηρα ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν ἔτει ἑκατοστῷ καὶ τριακοστῷ καὶ ἑβδόμῳ βασιλείας Ἑλλήνων.* The current opinion is that the chronology of 1 Maccabees takes as its starting-point Nisan 312 B. C. E., while that of 2 Maccabees starts from Tishri 311 B. C. E.[10] The view that 1 Maccabees reckons the beginning of the Seleucid era from the spring of 312 is of course at variance with the established fact that the Seleucid era dates from the fall of 312 B. C. E.[11] Nevertheless, this theory was forced upon scholars by the following circumstantial evidence. According to 1 Macc. (6. 20, cp. 7. 1) Antiochus V and Lysias with their army besieged the Temple mount in 150 A. S., and it is further explained that the Jews were at great disadvantage in the siege, having naught to eat by reason of that being the sabbatical year (*ὅτι σάββατον ἦν τῇ γῇ ... διὰ τὸ ἕβδομον ἔτος εἶναι*, 6. 49–53). Now, the sabbatical

[10] See Joseph Scaliger, *Opus de Emendatione Temporum*, lib. V; Dionysius Petavius, *De Doctrina Temp.*, lib. II; Usher, *Annal. Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, II, London, 1654; Noris, *Epoch. Syromac.*, p. 75, 1696; Erasmus Froelich, *Annales Compendiarii Regum et rerum Syriae*, Prolegomena, Vienna, 1754; Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, I, pp. 531–4, Berlin, 1825; Schürer, *Geschichte*, 32-40. Unger, 'Die Seleukidenära der Makkabäerbücher' (*Sitzungsberichte der Philos.-Philol.-Hist. Cl. der k. b. Akademie der Wiss. zu München*, 1895) thinks that the chronology of 1 and 2 Maccabees takes as its *terminus a quo* the spring of 311 B. C. See also Gilbert, 'Mémoire sur la chronologie de l'histoire des Machabées' (*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, XXVI, 1759); Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, III, pp. 370-7. According to him the era in both books starts from the autumn of 312 B. C.

[11] This is also the opinion expressed by Prideaux, *Connexion*, I, p. 514–15, 'The first book begins the years of this era from the spring, but the second begins them from the autumn; and so did the Syrians, Arabs, and Jews, and all others that anciently did or now do use this era'. It is very strange that the author of the first book of Maccabees should have computed this era by a method different even from his own countrymen, the Jews.

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year was from Tishri 1, 164 B. C. E. to Tishri 1, 163.[12] Hence if the chronology of 1 Maccabees took Tishri of 312 as its starting-point, then 150 A. S. corresponded with Tishri 163 to Tishri 162, and the year of the siege which was 150 A. S. could not have been a sabbatical year. If, on the other hand, it is assumed that the chronology of 1 Maccabees takes Nisan (312) as its starting-point, then 150 A. S. corresponds to the period from Nisan 163 B. C. E. until Nisan 162 B. C. E., and the summer of 163 B. C. E. actually falls in the sabbatical year. Thus the siege can be definitely placed in that summer.[13]

The chronology of 2 Maccabees is postponed one year beyond that of 1 Maccabees. If 1 Maccabees reckons its era from Nisan 312, then the chronology of 2 Maccabees must have begun from 311 B. C. E. This era, however, could not have started from the spring of 311, but from the autumn of 311, as is clearly proved from the letters of Antiochus V (2 Macc. 11. 17–33). One of these letters is dated in the month of Dioscurus of the year 148, while another of later date is marked Xanthicus of the year 148—which shows that the era of the chronology of 2 Maccabees did not begin from the spring, Xanthicus, but from the autumn—i. e. Tishri 311 B. C. E.[14]

This theory, however, is not acceptable. For among the Jews, the beginning of the civil year was always reckoned not from Nisan, but from Tishri. Thus the tradition was fixed באחד בתשרי ראש השנה לשנים 'from the first day of Tishri, the beginning of the year is reckoned.'[15]

[12] Schürer, *l. c.*, p. 35; see also below, chap. III.

[13] Schürer, *l. c.*, p. 214. About the other difficulties see below, note 27.

[14] See further Ideler, *Handbuch*, *ibid.*

[15] Rosh ha-Shanah, p. 2. Josephus (I have employed Niese's edition throughout) likewise tells us that with respect to months, holidays, and

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The former theory could only with difficulty be reconciled with the chronography of 1 Maccabees. For according to 1 Macc. 16. 14, Simon the Hasmonean was killed in the year 177 A.S. in the month of Shebat. Now if the Seleucid era in 1 Maccabees began from Nisan 312 B.C., then the month in which Simon was killed would fall in the year 135 B.C.E.; the year 177 extending from Nisan 136 to Nisan 135. But according to the account of Josephus (*Ant.* XIII, 8. 1–2, cp. XIII, 7. 4) the year after Simon's death was a sabbatical year, and that sabbatical year was Tishri 136 to Tishri 135.[16] Again, according to this theory, the siege of Jerusalem by Antiochus V, which, according to 1 Maccabees, occurred in 150 A.S. and which is described as a sabbatical year, must be dated in the summer of 163 B.C.E. (cp. above, p. 8), and this is opposed by the Megillah which, if our interpretation is correct, dates the raising of this siege specifically on the 28th of Shebat (see below, chap. IX, No. VIII, p. 81).

I venture to suggest a new solution to the chronological difficulties of 1 Maccabees. The reckoning of the Seleucid era has its origin, as is well known, in the victory gained by Seleucus over Demetrius near Gaza, at which time the Seleucid dynasty was founded. That battle was fought in the summer of 312 B.C.E., for in the words of Josephus

festivals, Moses commanded that the year should be counted from Nisan (spring), but in connexion with matters of business and general affairs, the year should be counted from Tishri. *Antt.* I, 3. 3 Συνέβη δὲ τοῦτο τὸ πάθος κατὰ τὸ ἑξακοσιοστὸν ἔτος ἤδη Νωέου τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐν μηνὶ δευτέρῳ, Δίῳ μὲν ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων λεγομένῳ, Μαρσουάνῃ δ' ὑπὸ Ἑβραίων· οὕτω γὰρ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἦσαν διατεταχότες. Μωυσῆς δὲ τὸν Νισᾶν, ὅς ἐστι Ξανθικός, μῆνα πρῶτον ἐπὶ ταῖς ἑορταῖς ὥρισε κατὰ τοῦτον ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τοὺς Ἑβραίους προαγαγών. οὗτος δ' αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς ἁπάσας τὰς εἰς τὸ θεῖον τιμὰς ἦρχεν. ἐπὶ μέντοι γε πράσεις καὶ ὠνὰς καὶ τὴν ἄλλην διοίκησιν τὸν πρῶτον κόσμον διεφύλαξε.

[16] Schürer, I, p. 35; see also below, chap. III.

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(*Contra Apionem*, I, 22, 184), following Castor, this battle took place in the eleventh year after Alexander died—*ἐνδεκάτῳ μὲν ἔτει τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτῆς, . . . ὡς ἱστορεῖ Κάστωρ.* Alexander the Great died in May or June 323 B. C. E.,[17] and the eleventh year closed, then, in the latter part of May or June 312 B. C. E.[18] All the cities in the countries around the Holy Land adopted the year of the battle, which established the rule of the Seleucids as a new era, but fixed the beginning of the year according to the traditional New Year season which prevailed in the respective countries. For instance, in Damascus they counted the years of the Seleucid era from the spring of 312 B. C. E., as can be seen by their coins;[19] while other cities counted their era from Hyperberetaeus or from Dius.[20] It was quite natural, therefore, for the Jews, too, when they adopted this era to arrange it in accordance with their traditional New Year and their methods of calendrical calculations. The interval from the coronation of the king until Nisan was counted as year one of his reign; and from that Nisan to the next Nisan as year

[17] Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, II, p. 176.

[18] Droysen, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, II, p. 45.

[19] Schürer, I, 37.

[20] Ideler, *l. c.*, I, 413–37. Many cities under Roman influence began their years in the Seleucid era from the month of January. Wieseler, *Chronologische Synopse*, p. 452. According to Droysen, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, III, pp. 364, 91, Eusebius, while dating from the origin of the Seleucide dynasty, in effect puts it January 312 B. C. Unger, *Die Seleukidenära der Makkabäerbücher*, *l. c.*, pp. 300–16, thinks that many cities counted their years from October 313, and so likewise Porphyry reckoned the years of Olympiads—not from the month of July 776 B. C., which was the first Olympiad, but from Dius 777 B. C. (Unger, *l. c.*, p. 300); and so does Josephus reckon the years in connexion with Olympiads in his *Antiquities*. See more about this below, chap. IV, pp. 42–4.

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two.[21] Anniversaries and births which were dated not from Nisan but from Tishri[22] illustrate the same principle. If, for example, a person was born in the course of the year, the rest of that year up to Tishri was considered the first year of his life; from that Tishri to the next Tishri his second year.[23]

When, therefore, the Jews adopted the calendar of the Seleucidean era, they moulded it to their view-point; that is to say, the New Year date was retained as the first of Tishri, but Tishri 312 B.C.E. marked the beginning of the second year of the newly-established era, the interval from the summer when the battle of Gaza was fought until Tishri 312 B.C.E. being counted as year one of the era.

1 Maccabees, written for Jews, in Hebrew and[24] in Palestine, used the chronology of Judea. Thus we can now harmonize the date of Simon's death, given in 1 Maccabees, as 177 A.S., with the account of Josephus describing the year following Simon's death as a sabbatical year. For Shebat 177 A.S. corresponds to Shebat 136 B.C.E., while the sabbatical year began on the following New Year, Tishri 136 B.C.E.[25] Likewise, the date of the Megillah, which places the siege of Antiochus V in the winter months,[26] becomes tenable; for the year 150 A.S. corre-

[21] Rosh ha-Shanah 10 b.

[22] Rosh ha-Shanah, Mishnah, Jerushalmi, *ibid.* 56b. See also above, note 15. This is what the Talmud says: חכמי ישראל מונים למבול כר״ אליעזר, *ibid.*, 12a. 'They counted the years of the successive generations from the month of Tishri according to R. Eliezer, who said that the world was created in Tishri.' See Rapoport, '*Erek Millin*, p. 92.

[23] Midrash rabba Num. I.

[24] Hieronymi Opera . . . Praefatio in lib. Samuel, p. 459, Venetiis, 1770: 'Machabaeorum primum librum Hebraicum reperi, secundus Graecus est quod ex ipsa quoque φράσει probari potest'.

[25] See below, chap. III.

[26] See below, No. VIII.

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sponds to 164–163 B.C.E., which was a full sabbatical year.[27]

[27] See below, chap. III. The difficulties which caused scholars to deny that the chronology in 1 Maccabees is based on the year beginning in autumn, prove groundless on closer scrutiny. Let us examine them:

(1) According to 1 Macc. 7. 1 Demetrius became king in 151 A.S. From 7. 43 . . . we learn that Nicanor was killed on the 13th of Adar. The year of his death is not recorded specifically, but it was no doubt 151, as further on (9. 3) it says that when Demetrius heard that Nicanor was killed, he dispatched a great army against Judea in the first month, in the year 152 A.S. And so, according to their understanding of the matter, the chronology of 1 Maccabees does not reckon the year from the autumn; for the interval between the death of Nicanor until the time that Demetrius heard the astounding news, would be very long, whereas other things point to its having been quite short. Consequently they adopt the view that this chronology deals with a year that began in the spring and that Nicanor was killed in Adar 151 A.S., and that in Nisan 'the first month of 152 A.S.', Demetrius received the news.

But, as I have said above, the chronology of 1 Maccabees is really based on the Judean chronology, i.e. that in which the year began in autumn (Tishri), though the months are numbered from Nisan. That the months were so counted is proved by 1 Macc. 16. 14, where it is stated that Simon was killed in the eleventh month, 'the same is the month Shebat'.

The month of Adar in which Nicanor was killed does not belong to the winter of 151 A.S., but to the winter of 152 A.S., and is in our notation Adar of 161 B.C.E. The month in which Demetrius heard the report was, indeed, Nisan (ראשון לחדשי השנה) in the year 152 A.S. This (corresponding to 161 B.C.E.) was a leap year, immediately succeeding the post-sabbatical year (150 A.S. was sabbatic), since neither in a sabbatic nor in a post-sabbatic year was intercalation of a month permitted (see below, p. 26 and note 62). The intercalation of Adar II quite well explains how so early as Nisan, Demetrius could receive complete official reports and absolute verification of what happened to Nicanor on the 13th of Adar; eight weeks had elapsed (see also Grimm, *Exegetisches Handbuch zu I. Macc.* p. 118.

(2) According to 1 Macc. 10. 1, Alexander Balas became king in 160 A.S., and after informing us that he (the king) sent friendly messages to Jonathan and appointed him High Priest, the writer goes on to say (10. 21) that Jonathan put on the priestly garments in the feast of Tabernacles in the year 160 A.S., from which they deduce: If in the chronology of 1 Maccabees years were reckoned from the autumn, how was it possible for Jonathan's

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This theory is further corroborated in the account of Antiochus IV as it is given in 1 Maccabees, where he is said to have become king in the year 137 A.S.[28] This, according to the general notion, was 176–175 B.C. He is said to have died in 149 A.S.,[29] i.e. 164–163 B.C. But as Niese[30] has well shown, this Antiochus, according to Eusebius, became king in Olymp. 151, 2, i.e. 175–174, and died in Olymp. 153, 4, i.e. 165–164. This, also according to Jerome, is the chronology of Eusebius.[31] Niese furthermore has clearly shown that the death of Antiochus IV must have been 165 B.C.E.,[32] for Polybius[33] says (Book XXXI, chap. 12) that when upon the receipt at Rome of the intelligence of Antiochus IV's death, and of his son's ascending the throne, senators were sent as delegates to Antioch, Cn. Octavius (consul in 165 B.C.) was at their

action on the feast of Tabernacles to occur in the same year as the action of Alexander Balas, which preceded it by less than a month?

This second objection loses its weight, as we have good reason to doubt whether 160 belongs to that part of the narrative where the feast of Tabernacles is brought in, and good reason to believe that it crept in through misunderstanding of a scribe. For in the Lucianic recension we find in 10. 21 no mention of 160 A.S. or any other year (see ed. Charles, l.c.); Josephus, likewise, makes no mention of the year 160 A.S. in his narrative of the investiture of Jonathan on the Feast of Tabernacles. (*Antiq.* XIII, 2. 1 and 3.)

[28] *I. M.* 1, 10. [29] *I. M.* 6. 16.

[30] Niese, 'Kritik der beiden Makkabäerbücher', *Hermes*, XXXV, 1900, p. 494, and id., *Geschichte der griechischen und macedonischen Staaten*, III, p. 218. See also Abrahams, 'Niese on the books of the Maccabees', *JQR.*, XIII, pp. 508–19.

[31] Hieronymus, VIII, pp. 567–71; Eusebius, *Chron.*, ed. Schoene.

[32] Niese placed the death of Antiochus IV in the winter of 165 B.C.E. See *Geschichte*, III, p. 218, note 7 and his *Kritik der Makkabäerbücher*, p. 495–6.

[33] Polyb. *Histor.* XXXI (frag. 12) *εὐθέως γὰρ καταστήσαντες πρεσβευτὰς τοὺς περὶ Γνάιον Ὀκταούιον καὶ Σπόριον Λορκήτιον καὶ Λεύκιον* (1075).

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head.[34] Neither the theory that 1 Maccabees dates the beginning of the Seleucidean era from Tishri 312 or from Nisan 312 (according to the generally accepted view), would square with the date of Antiochus's death in 165–164 B. C. E. On the other hand, according to the theory which I have proposed, counting Tishri 1, 312 B. C. E. as the beginning of the second year, the year 149 assigned as the date of Antiochus's death, corresponds to 165–164 B. C. E. as given in Eusebius and corroborated by Polybius.[35]

[34] Niese, *l. c.*; Zumpt, *Annales*, p. 94; Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, III, p. 84.

[35] At first glance Eusebius's statement that Antiochus IV reigned eleven years, does not seem to square with 1 Maccabees, where he is said to have reigned from 137 to 149. This is easily explained, however, by Eusebius's method of counting only complete years, while 1 Maccabees counted from his ascending the throne until he died. As Appian says (*Syriaka* 66): *Σελεύκου μὲν ἔτεσι δώδεκα, ἀπράκτως ἅμα καὶ ἀσθενῶς διὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς συμφοράν, Ἀντιόχου δὲ δώδεκα οὐ πλήρεσιν . . .* and upon Appian's words we can place more reliance, since he preceded Eusebius a considerable time, and undoubtedly had authorities for what he said. That Eusebius counted only the whole years of kings' reigns we can see also from the case of Alexander. According to his chronicles Alexander the Great ruled only twelve years, whereas in fact he ruled more than that—his reign lasted twelve years and eight months. Says Arrian (VII, 28): *ἐβασίλευσε δὲ δώδεκα ἔτη καὶ τοὺς ὀκτὼ μῆνας τούτους.* See Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, II, p. 176, Oxford, 1841.

Unger, as we have already remarked in note 10, thinks that the chronology of 1 Maccabees began with the spring of 311 B. C. E. because, according to 1 Macc. (1. 20), Antiochus returned from Egypt in the year 143 A. S., and this according to the general impression corresponded to 170-69 B. C. E. Indeed, Antiochus IV was in Palestine in the summer of 169 B. C. E. Therefore, according to Unger's view, if we say that the chronology of 1 Maccabees starts from the spring of 311 B. C., the 143rd year must be from the spring of 169 to the spring of 168 B. C. But Schürer (*Geschichte*, p. 38, note 7) truly points out that Antiochus IV was not only once but several times in Egypt (see also Wilcken in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Enc.*, II, 2470–6, and Clinton, *Fasti Hel.* III, pp. 317–29). In my opinion, Unger is correct in thinking that Antiochus was in Egypt in the summer of

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We are now in a position better to understand the chronology of Book II.[36] The difference between the respective chronologies of these two books arises out of the circumstances in which these two books were written. Whereas 1 Maccabees, as stated above, was written for Jews and in Hebrew, 2 Maccabees was plainly an apologetic work written for the Jews in Egypt, being merely an epitome of the larger Greek work of Jason. As the author stated himself: *τὰ ὑπὸ Ἰάσωνος τοῦ Κυρηναίου δεδηλωμένα διὰ πέντε βιβλίων, πειρασόμεθα δι' ἑνὸς συντάγματος ἐπιτεμεῖν* (2. 23).

It is but natural therefore that the chronology of 2 Maccabees is not that of the Jews (in Palestine) but the chronology which was current throughout Hellenistic Syria and Egypt, which dated the beginning of the Seleucid era from the autumn of 312 B.C.E. Consequently, the Seleucidean era of 2 Maccabees appears one full year less than that of 1 Maccabees, though they record the same event. The calendrical year among the Jews began in Tishri (cp. above, p. 8). It was but natural therefore to retain this New Year in the adopted Seleucidean era. According to another principle of calendrical calculation, which applied to the political as well as the civil calendar, a fractional year was considered a year. Thus the year 149, which according

169 B.C.E. This follows from Livy XLIV, chap. II, 5. But this was not, as Unger supposes, the first invasion of Egypt, but the second. Thus 2 Macc. (5. 1–21) alludes to it by saying that Antiochus IV captured Jerusalem the second time when he returned from Egypt, i.e. 169–8. Similarly 1 Macc. (1. 29–54) states that Antiochus IV captured Jerusalem for the second time two years after his first capture of the city on his return from Egypt in the 143rd year A.S. (171–70), i.e. in the year 145 A.S. (169–8). See further on this matter, below, ch. IV, the discussion of the chronology of the Books of the Maccabees.

[36] See above, note 9.

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to 1 Maccabees was the year when Antiochus IV died, is the same as 148 of 2 Macc. 9 and 11.[37]

[37] Vainly did Niese strive to show (*Kritik der beiden Makkabäerbücher*) that 2 Maccabees is more historical than 1 Maccabees, from the fact that 2 Maccabees places Antiochus's death in 148 A.S., which according to the commonly accepted view equals 165–4 B.C., whereas 1 Maccabees puts his death in 149 A.S., which by that view would equal 164–3, and this would be contrary to fact. As I have demonstrated, however, there is no historical difference between the two books in their dating of the death of the fourth Antiochus. See, also, the review by Israel Lévi in *RÉJ.*, 1901, pp. 222–30, and Wellhausen in *Nachrichten der Kgl. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, 1905, pp. 117–63.

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CHAPTER III

THE ORDER OF THE SABBATICAL CYCLES.

THE theory which we have advanced above regarding the Seleucid era as it was known among the Palestinian Jews and as it was used in 1 Maccabees, finds striking corroboration in the various references to the sabbatical cycles which are found in 1 Maccabees, Josephus, and in the Talmud, and which have hitherto been considered contradictory and conflicting. Despite the diverse nature of these sources it will be found that the sabbatical years to which they allude, and which belong to wholly different periods, all harmonize with each other if we calculate the Seleucid era in 1 Maccabees according to our theory.

Abundant references to the sabbatical institution as it existed in the Second Commonwealth occur in early Jewish literature. The year of Release naturally began in the Fall and not in the Spring, when the seed was already sown and the trees planted. The crucial problem is to determine in what years of a general era the sabbatical cycles began and ended. The following passages furnish the chief evidence by which the dating of the sabbatical cycle may be computed:

(1) In 1 Maccabees we are told that the year 150 A. S. was a sabbatical year.[38]

(2) From Josephus we learn that the year after the assassination of Simon the Hasmonean was a sabbatical year.[39] The assassination having taken place according

[38] 1 Macc. 6. 20–54; *Ant.* XII, 9, 5. [39] *Ant.* XIII, 8. 1.

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to 1 Maccabees in Shebat 177 A.S.,[40] the following year was 178 A.S.

(3) Likewise we find in Josephus that the capture of Jerusalem by Herod and Sosius was in a sabbatical year.[41] This event is dated Olympiad 185 in the consulate of Marcus Agrippa and Caninius Gallus.

(4) Finally, according to tannaitic authority the destruction of the Second Temple was in a post-sabbatical year.[42]

When subjected to a critical examination, however, the testimony of these sources does not seem to tally. It has already been pointed out above that according to the generally favoured theory the Seleucid era of 1 Maccabees is to be dated from Nisan 312 B.C.E. The statement (1) that the year 150 A.S. was a sabbatical year contradicts the statement (2) of Josephus that the year following the death of Simon was a sabbatical year (cp. above, p. 11). As to the capture of Jerusalem by Herod and Sosius, the consulate of Marcus Agrippa and Caninius Gallus establishes it as having fallen in 37 B.C.E., and we are further informed by Josephus that the sabbatical year overlapped the time of the siege and continued for a period following the fall of the city, which occurred on a fast day (*Ant.*, XIV, 16. 3; XV, 1. 2). The fast day to which Josephus alludes here is taken by some scholars to refer to the Day of Atonement, and consequently the capture of Jerusalem by Herod and Sosius is definitely dated by these as Tishri 10, 37 B.C.E.[43] This date is impossible,

[40] 1 Macc. 16. 14.

[41] *Ant.* XIV, 16. 2.

[42] Seder Olam Raba, XXX; Talmud Taanit 29 a.

[43] Van der Chijs, *de Herode Magno*, pp. 35-41; Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, IV; Lewin, *Fasti Sacri*, p. 59; Gardthausen, *Augustus*

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however, for one sabbatical year could not overlap the old and the new year, which terminate and begin respectively on the first day of Tishri. Besides, if the sabbatical year is assumed to have fallen in 164–163 B. C. E., then the year 38–37 was a sabbatical year, whereas, according to the above interpretation, it would be necessary to assume that it occurred in 37–36 B. C. E., if, as Josephus has it, the sabbatical year continued after the capture of Jerusalem.

Most of the later scholars, on the other hand, date this capture of Jerusalem in the middle of the summer, 37 B. C. E.[44] This accords well with the calculation that the sabbatical year was 38–37 B. C. E., and also with the statement that the sabbatical year overlapped the time of the siege and the period following the capture of the city. But this date of the capture of Jerusalem fixes the beginning of Herod's rule in the summer of 37 B. C. E., and in this connexion a later passage relating to Herod's reign obviously contradicts the calculation of the sabbatical cycle. Thus, Josephus states that in the thirteenth year of Herod's reign there was a famine in Palestine, and also the seed that they sowed that year yielded no fruit the second year.[45] Now the thirteenth year of Herod's reign, counting Nisan as the 'New Year for Kings', corresponds to Nisan 25–24 B. C. E. But according to the above calcu-

und seine Zeit, and 'Die Eroberung Jerusalems durch Herodes', *Rhein. Museum*, 1895, pp. 311–14; Unger, *l. c.*, pp. 273–77; Kellner, *Katholik*, II, 1887, pp. 118–21.

[44] Herzfeld, 'Wann war die Eroberung Jerusalems durch Pompejus, und wann die durch Herodes?' *Monatsschrift f. Gesch. u. Wissensch. des Judenth.*, 1855, pp. 109–15; Kromayer, 'Die Eroberung Jerusalems durch Herodes', *Hermes*, XXIX (1894), pp. 563–71; Graetz, *Geschichte*, III, p. 196; Hitzig, *Geschichte*, II, 532.

[45] *Ant.* XV, 9, 1; comp. XV, 9, 2; Schürer, I, p. 367.

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lation of the sabbatical cycles, the winter of 24 B. C. E. was a sabbatical year and cannot be reconciled with the statement that seed was sown that year.[46]

As to the tannaitic reference to the sabbatical year preceding the destruction of the Temple, i. e. 68–69 C. E., this accords well with the previous calculation of the sabbatical cycles on the basis of 1 Maccabees. But the reliability of this statement too was challenged by critics who oppose to it the statement of Josephus that Simon the Zealot, in the winter of 68–69 C. E. (cp. *Bell. Iud.* IV, 9. 7 and 12), fell upon Idumea with his army like a host of locusts, wasting the land and consuming all that grew in the country. Thus it appears that the Idumeans who observed the Jewish laws since the time of Hyrcanus I did not observe this year as a sabbatical year.[47]

These seemingly insurmountable difficulties in the way of establishing the sabbatical cycle may be cleared by a careful investigation of each passage, provided that our theory of the Seleucid era in 1 Maccabees is presupposed. Thus we have already shown that, according to our theory, the year following the death of Simon, which is dated Shebat 177 A. S., was 136–135 B. C. E., which harmonizes with the dating of 150 A. S., or 164–163 B. C. E. as the sabbatical year (see above, p. 9). As to the difficulties which are raised by the passage in Josephus relating to the capture of Jerusalem by Herod and Sosius, it is crucial first to establish critically the month and the year in which this event took place. Neither the date of the summer of 37 B. C. E. nor of Tishri of that year is acceptable. The former implies that by the solemnity of the fast Josephus referred to the sabbath. This is conceivable as regards

[46] Unger, *l. c.*, pp. 278–80.

[47] See also Unger, *l. c.*, 280–1.

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Dio, the pagan, but not Josephus the Jew.[48] The latter date is inherently contradictory, as has already been pointed out, for the sabbatical year could not extend both prior to and after Tishri. Another date must therefore be established in order to render this passage in Josephus in any way intelligible.

The statement of Josephus reads: 'The destruction befell the city of Jerusalem when Marcus Agrippa and Caninius Gallus were consuls at Rome, in the hundred and eighty-fifth Olympiad, on the third month, on the solemnity of the fast'. *Τοῦτο τὸ πάθος συνέβη τῇ Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλει ὑπατεύοντος ἐν Ῥώμῃ Μάρκου Ἀγρίππα καὶ Κανιδίου (Κανινίου) Γάλλου ἐπὶ τῆς ἑκατοστῆς ὀγδοηκοστῆς καὶ πέμπτης ὀλυμπιάδος τῷ τρίτῳ μηνὶ τῇ ἑορτῇ τῆς νηστείας* (*Ant.* XIV, 16. 4). Now Dio Cassius, in describing the same event, refers it to the time of the Consuls Claudius and Norbanus.[49] Evidently there is a contradiction between

[48] See Herzfeld, *l. c.*, p. 112. Strabo (born 60–55 B.C.E.) tells us that Jerusalem was taken by Pompey on a fast day—*ἡ τῆς νηστείας ἡμέραν*.—Reinach, *Textes*, p. 103. Dio misunderstood and substituted sabbath day (*ἐν τῇ τοῦ Κρόνου ἡμέρᾳ*) (Dio, XXXVII, 15, 16). Some Roman historians were of the opinion that the sabbath was a fast day to the Jews, which we also find in a letter by Augustus. 'Ne Iudaeus quidem, mi Tiberi, tam diligenter sabbatis ieiunium servat quam ego hodie servavi' (Suetonius, *Augustus*, 76), and the same opinion is expressed by Pompeius Trogus, 'Septimum diem more gentis sabbata appellatum in omne aevum ieiunio sacrant' (Reinach, *Textes*, p. 254), and also Petronius is under the same impression: 'et non ieiunia sabbata lege premet' (Reinach, *Textes*, p. 266). On the other hand Josephus nowhere states that the sabbath was a fast day to the Jews. Also Tacitus is silent on this matter; 'septimo die otium placuisse ferunt, quia is finem laborum tulerit' (Reinach, *l. c.*, p. 305), apparently unaware of Sabbath being a fast day.

[49] Dio, XLIX, 22–3 *Γάιος δὲ δὴ Σόσσιος τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς τε Συρίας καὶ τῆς Κιλικίας παρ' αὐτοῦ* [Antony] *λαβὼν τούς τε Ἀραδίους πολιορκηθέντας τε μέχρι τότε καὶ λιμῷ καὶ νόσῳ ταλαιπωρηθέντας ἐχειρώσατο καὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον τοὺς φρουροὺς τοὺς παρ' ἑαυτῷ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὄντας ἀποκτείναντα μάχῃ τε ἐνίκησε, καὶ*

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the two historians. The consulate of Agrippa and Gallus was in 37 B. C. E., 717 A. U. C., while that of Claudius and Norbanus was in 38 B. C. E., 716 A. U. C. Choosing between these two sources, Clinton rejected the testimony of Josephus in favour of Dio, and consequently placed the capture of Jerusalem in December 38 B. C. E.[50] Thus the capture of Jerusalem would fall properly in the sabbatical year 38–37 B. C. E., and the month is preceded as well as followed by the sabbatical season. But this theory entirely invalidates the testimony of Josephus, and what is more, it does not explain the allusion to the fast-day.

It is my opinion that the difference between the two accounts in Josephus and Dio respectively does not represent a contradiction in fact, but merely a difference in their respective methods of reckoning the consulate. Dio reckons the consulate from the date that the Consuls enter into office. According to Varo, the term of the Roman consuls at this time began in March.[51] Josephus, on the other hand, employed the Macedonian calendar, in which calendar

καταφυγόντα ἐς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα πολιορκίᾳ κατεστρέψατο. πολλὰ μὲν δὴ καὶ δεινὰ καὶ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἔδρασαν (τὸ γάρ τοι γένος αὐτῶν θυμωθὲν πικρότατόν ἐστι), πολλῷ δὲ δὴ πλείω αὐτοὶ ἔπαθον. ἐάλωσαν μὲν γὰρ πρότεροι μὲν οἱ ὑπὲρ τοῦ τεμένους τοῦ θεοῦ ἀμυνόμενοι, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐν τῇ τοῦ Κρόνου καὶ τότε ἡμέρᾳ ὀνομασμένῃ. καὶ τοσοῦτόν γε τῆς θρησκείας αὐτοῖς περιῆν ὥστε τοὺς προτέρους τοὺς μετὰ τοῦ ἱεροῦ χειρωθέντας παραιτήσασθαί τε τὸν Σόσσιον, ἐπειδὴ ἡμέρα αὖθις ἡ τοῦ Κρόνου ἐνέστη, καὶ ἀνελθόντας ἐς αὐτὸ πάντα μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν τὰ νομιζόμενα ποιῆσαι. ἐκείνους μὲν οὖν Ἡρῴδῃ τινὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἄρχειν ἐπέτρεψε, τὸν δ' Ἀντίγονον ἐμαστίγωσε σταυρῷ προσδήσας, ὃ μηδεὶς βασιλεὺς ἄλλος ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπεπόνθει, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀπέσφαξεν. ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τοῦ τε Κλαυδίου τοῦ τε Νωρβανοῦ τοῦθ' οὕτως ἐγένετο.

[50] Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, III, p. 220; Fischer, *Römische Zeittafeln*, Altona, 1846, p. 350.

[51] Varro 6, 12 frag. and 33 'si a Martio ut antiqui constituerunt numeres'. See also Th. Mommsen, *Die römische Chronologie*, Berlin, 1859, pp. 98–9.

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the Olympian year began in the fall, as we shall show presently.[52] In the same manner, the consulate too was reckoned not from the day when the consuls entered into office, but from the beginning of the Olympian year which was in the autumn. Thus the consulates are fixed by Polybius.[53] Consequently the events which occurred between Dius—in the autumn months—and March would, according to this system, be reckoned in the succeeding consulate.

If to this explanation of Josephus's use of the Macedonian calendar we would add the statement of Josephus that 'the destruction befell the city of Jerusalem . . . in the third month', we are in a position definitely to ascertain the exact date on which the event occurred, and to identify the 'solemnity of the fast'. The third month cannot mean the third month of the siege, as Josephus states elsewhere that the city fell after a siege of five to six months.[54] It cannot refer to the third month of the Hebrew calendar, as it is placed together with the Olympian year. It can therefore only mean in the third month of the Olympian year of the 185th Olympiad, and it must furthermore be the Olympian year of the Macedonian calendar. For the third month in the Attic-Olympian calendar corresponds to the Hebrew Tishri, which makes it impossible to harmonize with the statement that the sabbatical season preceded and followed the capture of Jerusalem. The third month is thus the month of Audyneus,

[52] See below, chap. IV.

[53] Comp. H. Nissen, 'Die Oekonomie der Geschichte des Polybios', *Rhein. Mus.* XXVI (1871), pp. 241–82.

[54] The siege lasted from five to six months. *Bell. Iud.* I, 18. 2; comp. V, 9. 4.

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which corresponds to December and January, i. e. the Hebrew month Tebet. It may therefore be assumed that the fast-day refers to the tenth of Tebet,[55] and consequently the capture of Jerusalem took place January 13–14, 37 B. C. E. = 717 A. U. C.

This date would be placed in the consulate of Claudius and Norbanus by Dio, while Josephus would advance it into the consulate of Agrippa and Gallus. This date fulfils also the other conditions, namely, that it falls in a sabbatical year, and was preceded as well as followed by the sabbatical season.

The date of the capture of Jerusalem marks the beginning of Herod's reign. According to the Jewish calculation of the royal era from Nisan, the month of Nisan in 37 B. C. E. was the beginning of the second year of his reign. Consequently, the thirteenth and fourteenth years were not 25–24 and 24–23 B. C. E., but 26–25 and 25–24 B. C. E., while the sabbatical year was indeed 24–23 B. C. E.

The theory which is equally prevalent that the first year of Herod must be reckoned either from Nisan of 37 B. C. E. or from 10 Tishri of 37 B. C. E. is based on Josephus's synchronizing the seventh year of Herod with that of the battle of Actium, which was fought on September 2, 31 B. C. E. From this it is assumed that we must consider his first year to have begun in the year 37 B. C. E.[56] *Ἐν τούτῳ καὶ τῆς ἐπ' Ἀκτίῳ μάχης συνεσταμένης Καίσαρι πρὸς Ἀντώνιον ἐβδόμου [δ'] ὄντος Ἡρώδῃ τῆς βασιλείας ἔτους, σεισθεῖσα ἡ γῆ τῶν Ἰουδαίων* (*Ant.* XV, 5. 2).

This assumption appears groundless when we subject

[55] Zech. 8. 19.

[56] Schürer, *Geschichte*, I, p. 365, n. 6, and p. 415, n. 167; Kromayer, *l. c.*, p. 571.

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the following text of Josephus on which it is based to a critical examination. He says: 'This time (when there was war between the Arabs and Herod) it was that the fight happened at Actium, between Octavius Caesar and Antony in the seventh year of the reign of Herod, and then it was also that there was an earthquake in Judea'.

Josephus cannot mean that the battle of Actium coincided with the earthquake in Judea, as the former event occurred in September,[57] while the latter occurred at the beginning of the Spring.[58] This passage would be entirely unintelligible if we did not fortunately have a parallel reference to these events in the *Bellum Iudaicum*, which clears up the true meaning of this text: 'In the seventh year of his reign (Herod's), when the war about Actium was at the height, at the beginning of the spring the earth was shaken'. *Κατ' ἔτος μὲν τῆς βασιλείας ἕβδομον, ἀκμάζοντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀκτίου πολέμου. ἀρχομένου γὰρ ἔαρος ἡ γῆ σεισθεῖσα* (*Bell. Iud.* I, 19. 3).

Here Josephus identifies with the time of the earthquake not the battle (*μάχη*) of Actium, but the war (*πόλεμος*) about Actium, which begun in the winter of 32–31 B. C. E., was at its height in the spring,[59] and culminated in Sept. 2, 31 B. C. E. As Josephus states here plainly, when the war about Actium was at its height, at the beginning of the spring, that the earthquake took place, and this was in the seventh year of Herod's reign. In such manner we must interpret the previous passage in *Antiq.* Consequently, the actual

[57] Zonar, X, 30 *κατὰ τὴν δευτέραν τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου μηνός*: also Dio, LI, 1 *τοιαύτη τις ἡ ναυμαχία αὐτῶν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου ἐγένετο*: see Fischer, *Römische Zeittafeln*, p 368.

[58] *Ἀρχομένου γὰρ ἔαρος ἡ γῆ σεισθεῖσα*, *Bell. Iud.* I, 19, 3.

[59] Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, III; Dio, L, 11 *τοῦ δὲ δὴ ἦρος ὁ μὲν Ἀντώνιος οὐδαμοῦ ἐκινήθη . . . . καὶ ὁ Ἀγρίππας τήν τε Μεθώνην ἐκ προσβολῆς λαβών.*

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battle of Actium fell in the eighth year of Herod, and the first year ends properly with the month of Nisan 37 B. C. E., as we have assumed.

The above explanation is based of course on the assumption that the beginning of spring preceded Nisan. This is contrary to Schürer's views that the Jews reckoned the spring season from the first of Nisan.[60] There can be no doubt, however, that Schürer was in error on this point. While the Jewish months are lunar, the seasons were fixed according to the position of the sun, and in an intercalated year, the beginning of the spring must precede the first of the month of Nisan.[61] The year 31 B. C. E., being a pre-sabbatical year, was in fact intercalated in accordance with an ancient rule.[62]

The entire discussion of the date of the capture of Jerusalem by Herod and Sosius would not be complete without the consideration of the supplementary statement of Josephus: *ὥσπερ ἐκ περιτροπῆς τῆς γενομένης ἐπὶ Πομπηίου τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις συμφορᾶς. καὶ γὰρ ὑπ' ἐκείνου τῇ αὐτῇ ἑάλωσαν ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ ἔτη εἰκοσιεπτά* (*Ant.* XIV, 16. 4). On the face of it Josephus appears to mean that the capture of Jerusalem by Herod marked the anniversary of Pompey's conquest of the Holy City. Our date—the 10th of Tebet—can hardly be taken as the anniversary of Pompey's conquest of Jerusalem, as this appears in all likelihood to have taken place in one of the summer months, or more accurately the month of Tammuz, in which a well-established

[60] Schürer, I, p. 365, n. 6.

[61] מעברין השנה על אביב ועל התקופה, see Talmud Sanhedrin 11–13 and Tosefta, *ibid.*

[62] אין מעברין לא בשביעית ולא במוצאי שביעית . . . . . איימתי רגילין לעבר בערבי שביעית, T. Jerushalmi Sanhedrin 18 d; Babli, *ibid.*

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fast-day fell.[63] But this passage is, in any event, difficult to reconcile with the facts, according to any of the above-cited identifications of the date of Herod's capture of Jerusalem. For the conquest of Pompey to which Josephus refers took place according to his own testimony in the third month of the siege[64] on a fast-day in 179 Olymp. in the consulate of Caius Antonius and Marcus Tullius Cicero, which corresponds to 63 B. C. E.

Now between 63 B. C. E. and 37 B. C. E. there intervenes only a period of twenty-six years and not twenty-seven.

This last consideration makes it impossible to interpret τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ, 'the same day', as referring to the anniversary. It must be assumed that fast-days on which the respective events took place were not identical. Only thus it becomes possible to explain the interval of twenty-seven years, namely, that the event of Pompey fell in the month of Tammuz and that of Herod in the month of Tebet. Reckoning the fractional year from Tammuz to Tishri or Dius as one year, Josephus properly counted the intervening period as twenty-seven years. As to the literal meaning, 'the same day', this can only be taken to mean the same day of the week. Thus Tammuz 9, 63 B. C. E. fell on Tuesday or Wednesday, while Tebet 10, 37 B. C. E. fell on Wednesday or Thursday.[65] Assuming that the two dates respectively fell on Wednesday—and this can also be maintained on other grounds—we see that Josephus

[63] See Prideaux, *Histoire des Juifs et des peuples voisins*, V, p. 517, Paris, 1726. There will be a full discussion about the capture of Jerusalem by Pompey and the reckoning of the years of Hyrcanus in the second part of this book.

[64] Comp. *Bell. Iud.* I, 7. 4

[65] See also Unger, *l. c.*, p. 276, where he states that the 10th of Tishri 63 B. C. E. fell on Sunday or Monday, and the 10th of Tishri 37 B. C. E. fell on Wednesday or Thursday.

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could well count, *καὶ γὰρ ὑπ' ἐκείνου τῇ αὐτῇ ἑάλωσαν ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ ἔτη εἰκοσιεπτά.* That both Pompey's capture of Jerusalem and Herod's fell on Wednesday is curiously corroborated by an obscure and corrupt passage in an old historical document which is otherwise unintelligible: כשחרב הבית בראשונה אותו היום [תשעה באב היה ו] מוצאי שבת היה ומוצאי שביעית [היתה] ומשמרתו של יהויריב . . . וכן שניה . . . ובזה ובזה הלוים עומדים על דוכנן ואומרים שירה ומה שירה אומרים וישב עליהם את אונם . . . בחדש הרבעי בתשעה לחדש הבקעה העיר בראשונה. בשניה בו (עשר) בשבעה, *Seder Olam*, ch. XXX, ed. Neubauer.[66] The day on which the Temple was destroyed the first time fell on the 9th of Ab, on the day following the sabbath, in a post-sabbatical year and in the watch of Jehojarib. Thus also the second destruction.... Both times the Levites stood at their posts and recited their psalm. What psalm did they recite?

'And he hath brought upon them their own iniquity,
And will cut them off in their own evil;
The Lord our God will cut them off.' (Ps. 94.)

In the fourth month, in the seventh day thereof a breach was made in the city during the first (Destruction) and on the seven(teen)th thereof during the second (Destruction).

That this passage is incoherent was already felt in the Talmud, without any satisfactory explanation being offered there.[67] Thus, it is well known both in the Talmud and in the works of Josephus that the sacrificial service was abolished on the seventeenth of Tammuz, during the siege of Titus,[68] while here the statement is

[66] In Talmud Taanit and Erakin, the above passage is found with other variants.

[67] See Arakin 11–12.

[68] Talmud Taanit 26: בשבעה עשר בתמוז בטל התמיד; comp. *Bell. Iud.* VI, 2. 1: 'On the seventeenth day of the month Ponemus the daily sacrifice (ἐνδελεχισμός) had failed'.

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made that the sacrifices continued till the ninth of Ab. In addition, there is the glaring contradiction that the Temple is said to have fallen on Sunday, while the psalms which the Levites chanted in accompaniment to the alleged sacrificial service of that day, formed the recitation of Wednesday (cp. Mishnah Tamid).

It must be assumed that the text represents an incomplete and defective Baraita. The antecedents of בזה ובזה are not בראשונה ובשניה of the existing text, which refers to the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar and Titus respectively, but must allude to a missing sentence which described the conquest of Jerusalem by Pompey and Herod also as בראשונה ובשניה. Thus interpreted, the allusion to the Levites at the sacrificial service reminds one strongly of Josephus's description of the siege and fall of Jerusalem under both these conquerors, where he emphasizes the fact that the daily sacrifices were kept up till the very fall of the city.[69] It only remains to be noted that the psalm which the Levites are said to have chanted on these two days respectively was the psalm which was recited every Wednesday.[70]

[69] As regards the time when Jerusalem was captured by Pompey, we read the following: 'Many of the priests when they saw their enemies assailing them with swords in their hands, without any disturbance went on with their divine worship, and were slain while they were offering their drink-offerings and burning their incense', *Bell. Iud.* I, 7. 5. As regards the time of Herod we have the following: 'When the outer court of the Temple and the lower city were taken . . . but now fearing lest the Romans should hinder them from offering their daily sacrifices to God, they sent an embassage, and desired that they would only permit them to bring in beasts for sacrifices which Herod granted', *Ant.*, XVI, 16. 2. See J. Lehmann, 'Quelques dates importantes de la chronologie du second temple', *RÉJ.*, XXXVII (1898), pp. 1–44.

[70] Mishnah Tamid, ch. 7, Mishnah 4. Some again object to our theory as to the dates of these cycles of Shemittot on the ground that in accordance

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We may now finally dispose of the last argument which was raised above, against the fixation of the order of the sabbatical cycles, namely, that while the year preceding the destruction of the Temple was a sabbatical year according to the testimony of the Talmud, as well as on the

therewith 40–41 C.E. would necessarily be a sabbatic year, whereas Josephus, in treating of the Jews petitioning Petronius not to place a statue of the Emperor in the Sanctuary, reports the latter as saying to them, 'Go, till the soil'. Schürer aptly observes that this is not sufficient to prove the year non-sabbatical: 'dieses indirekte Argument . . . nicht stark genug ist, um die überlieferten positiven Daten in Betreff der Sabbatjahre umzustossen' (*Geschichte*, I, p. 35; see also pp. 495–507). Also Wieseler, *Stud. u. Krit.* (1879), p. 529 inclines very strongly to the idea that that conversation between the Jews and Petronius took place in 39–40 B. C. E. Graetz (*Geschichte*, III, 2, n. 8) considers also that 40–41 C. E. could not have been a sabbatic year by reason of what is stated in Mishnah Sotah, VII, 7: מוצאי יו"ט הראשון של חג בשמיני במוצאי שביעית—אגריפס המלך עמד וקבל וקרא עומד ושבחוהו חכמים וכשהגיע ללא תוכל לתת עליך איש נכרי זלגו עיניו דמעות אמרו לו אל תתירא אגריפס אחינו אתה . . . . . On the feast of Tabernacles in the post-sabbatical year the king read the Pentateuch (before the multitude).

The Mishnah, after stating that the king stood while reading, continues: 'And when he read the passage, "Thou mayest not put over thee a foreign man", his eyes were suffused with tears (the Herodian family was of Idumean origin)—they said to him, "Be not afraid, Agrippa, thou art our brother: our brother art thou"'. The post-sabbatic year thus falls in 41–42 C.E., whereas, as Graetz thinks, Agrippa I did not come to Judea until 42 C.E. (*Monatssch.*, 1877, p. 433). But this objection will not affect matters, for admitting that Agrippa could not have been present at the service of Feast of Tabernacles in 41 B.C., it has never been proved that the passage refers to Agrippa I, and not to Agrippa II. Derenbourg, *Essai*, p. 217, thinks Agrippa II was meant, as does also Büchler, 'Die Priester und der Cultus im letzten Jahrzehnt des Jerusalemischen Tempels', *Bericht der Isr. Theol. Lehranstalt in Wien*, 1895, p. 12, and Hitzig, II, 571. See also Brann in *Monatssch.*, 1870, pp. 541–8. The word 'king' could have been applied to Agrippa II, for besides his being king in Galilea, he was, by appointment, given charge of the Temple. In the Talmud we find evidences of his being called king, as in the statement שאל אגריפס המלך את רבי אליעזר . . . (Tanḥuma Genesis, ed. Frankfurt, p. 6 d, 1701); שאל אפטרופוס של אגריפס המלך את רבי אליעזר . . . (Sukkah 27 b).

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basis of our calculation, nevertheless Josephus refers to the growing fruit in the land of Edom which was invaded by Simon the Zealot that year (69 C. E.). This difficulty is easily solved by the simple and well-known fact that the laws of the sabbatical year affected only the lands of Palestine, and had no application in Edom or in any other country that was annexed to Palestine.[71]

[71] See Mishnah, Shebiith, VI, 1. Many scholars think that 69–70 was sabbatic and that this is attested by the Baraita . . . כשחרב הבית מוצאי . . . שביעית, which according to them means the latter part of the sabbatic year, in which the month of Ab would be the eleventh. Such is Caspari's opinion (*Life of Christ*, pp. 23–6, 37), and Graetz's understanding of the expression במוצאי שביעית, Graetz, *Geschichte*, III, 2, n. 8. In truth, however, the sabbatic year was 68–69, whereas מוצאי שביעית is the following year, 69–70, for which we have coined the expression, post-sabbatic. That מוצאי שביעית in the Talmud means the post-sabbatic year and not any part of the seventh year is evident from many passages, e. g. אין מעברין השנה לא בשביעית ולא במוצאי שביעית 'They do not intercalate, neither in the sabbatical year nor in the post-sabbatical'. This is also evident from Ab. zarah 9 b.: האי מאן דלא ידע כמה שני בשבוע הוא עומד ניטפי חד שתא 'If any man is uncertain as to the year of the Shemittah he is in, he should count the years, from the year in which the Sanctuary was destroyed and add one year, since that event took place in a year that followed a sabbatic year'.

This error—that the destruction of the Temple was in a sabbatic year—we find not only among modern scholars, but among the rabbis of the Middle Ages. This is even the idea of R. Tam, see his remarks in Tosaphot on Ab. zarah 9 b. Not only were they misled into thinking that the year of destruction was sabbatic, but also as to the exact year. According to some, the destruction took place in the year 3828 A. M., i. e. 67–68 C. E., while others place it in the year 3829 A. M. (68–69 C. E.). See Rashi and Tosaphot, *ibid*, and Seder ha-Kabalah, by Abraham ibn Daud (Rabad). Both dates are false. The destruction of the Temple, as is known, took place in the month of Ab, 3830 A. M. (69–70 C. E.). This error we can detect in a passage in the Talmud, Ab. zarah 9 b, which is from the latest Amoraim or is an addition of a later time, confusing the two statements: אמר ר' חנינא אחר ארבע מאות לחרבן הבית אם יאמר לך אדם קח שדה שוה אלף דינרין בדינר אחד לא תקח.—במתניתא תנא (אחר). [This אחר is superfluous and does not appear in the Spanish MS. in the Jewish Theological

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The correct order of the sabbatical cycles was preserved centuries later in the Gaonic schools and in Palestine. According to their calculation, says Maimonides, 'this year 4936 A.M. and 1107 after the destruction of the Temple (1175–6) is a post-sabbatical year'.[72]

Seminary of America.] ארבעת אלפים ומאתים ושלשים ואחת לבריאת עולם אם יאמר לך אדם קח לך שדה שוה אלף דינרין בדינר אחד אל תקח. R. Hanina said: 'After 400 from the destruction of the Temple, if a man offers you a field worth 1,000 denarii for one denarius, buy not'. (The reason for this advice was that the Messiah would come.) In a Baraita it is stated: 'In 4231 A. M. if you are offered for one denarius a field worth 1,000 denarii, take not'. The Talmud asks what is the difference between the two, and gives the answer: איכא בינייהו תלת שנין דמתניתא טפיא תלת שני. The difference between R. Hanina's statement and that in the Baraita is three years. The author of this passage thought that the destruction took place 3828 A M., and R. Hanina's statement would apply to after 4228 A.M., while according to the Baraita it is 4231 A.M.,— which exceeds by three years. But the two statements are in agreement. The destruction took place 3830 A.M., and R. Hanina's statement would mean 'after 4230 A. M. buy nothing', while the Baraita specifies 4231 as the beginning of the period.

This statement about the cycles of Shemittot is corroborated by a well-known Haggadah in the Talmud Sanhedrin 91a in connexion with Alexander. In telling of this dispute before him of representative Jews and Ishmaelites, the Haggadah ends with ואותה שנה שביעית היתה 'that year was sabbatic'. Alexander was in Palestine 332 B. C. E. Counting back from 164–163 twenty-four cycles, we get 332–331 as sabbatic.

[72] ושנת השמיטה ידועה היא ומפורסמת אצל הנאונים ואנשי ארץ— ישראל . . . ולפי חשבון זה תהי' שנה זו שהיא שנת שבע ומאה ואלף לחורבן הבית מוצאי שביעית. Maimonides, *Yad ha-Ḥazakah, Shemittah*, X, 6. The year 4936 A. M. (i. e. 1175–6 C. E.) being, as Maimonides says in the name of the Geonim, post-sabbatical, confirms our view on sabbatical cycles that 3830 A. M. (69–70 C. E., year of destruction of the Temple) was post-sabbatical, thus making 158 cycles; but, according to Maimonides, 4936 A. M. is the year 1107 of the destruction of the Temple. Herein he erred, taking as year of the destruction 3829 A. M. (68–69 C. E.), which error we already detected in a passage in Talmud (see note 71).

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CHAPTER IV

CONTENTS AND CHARACTERISTICS OF MACCABEES 1 AND 2.

BESIDES the seeming chronological differences between 1 and 2 Maccabees which we have reconciled above there exist also chronographical divergences between the two books which have to be cleared up before the data in the Megillat Taanit, which refer to Maccabean events, can be properly fixed and dated. The following outline will reveal the crucial points of difference between the two books. 2 Maccabees generally narrates events undated, and we place them parallel to the column where they are described with dates in 1 Maccabees.

A. S.	1 Maccabees.	2 Maccabees.
143	Antiochus on his return from Egypt captures Jerusalem (1. 20–24).	
145	(Two years later) he again captures and kills many Jews (1. 29–35). On 15th of Kislev he builds next to the altar 'the abomination of desolation'. On	Antiochus in his second march from Egypt captures Jerusalem, takes silver from the Sanctuary (5. 1–27); shortly after, he orders the statue of

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the 25th day they sacrifice offerings on the newly-built altar (1. 59).

146 Mattathias dies (2. 70). Judas's victories over Apollonius and Seron (3. 10–25).

Zeus to be set up (6. 1–3).

147 Antiochus crosses the Euphrates on his way to Persia (3. 37). Before setting out for Persia he orders Lysias to make a campaign against Judas (3. 32–5). Lysias delegates Ptolemy, Nicanor, and Gorgias to conduct the campaign against Judas (3. 38).

Judas's victories over them (4. 14–25).

Judas's victories over Nicanor and Gorgias. Judas comes to Jerusalem (8. 8–31).

Antiochus IV dies (9. 1–28).

148 In the next year Lysias marches to the south of Judea (4. 28).

Judas comes to Jerusalem. The Temple is cleansed; the Jews offer sacrifices on the altar (4. 36–61). War of Jews with neighbouring nations (5. 1–8).

The Jews cleanse the Temple and sacrifice on the altar (10. 1–5). Antiochus V becomes king (10. 9, 11). Wars of Jews with neighbouring countries (10. 15).

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149	Antiochus IV dies (6. 1–16). Accession of Antiochus Eupator (6. 17). Judas attacks the citadel of Jerusalem (6. 18–19).	
		Lysias's expedition and treaty (11). Lysias and Antiochus send letters of peace to the Jews (17–38). More about wars with neighbouring nations (12. 1–45).
150	Lysias's second expedition; peace with Jews (6. 28–54).	149 Second expedition of Lysias and Antiochus V; peace made with Jews (13. 1–26).
151	Accession of Demetrius I (7. 1–4). Alcimus becomes high-priest (7. 15–22). Nicanor is killed, 13th Adar (7. 1–50).	Accession of Demetrius I (14. 1–2). Alcimus becomes high-priest (14. 3). Nicanor is killed, 13th Adar (15. 28–36).

As may be seen from this list, there exists not only a chronological discrepancy between these two books, but also differences with regard to the events themselves. Thus, according to 1 Maccabees, the purifying of the sanctuary took place before the death of Antiochus IV, while according to 2 Maccabees it took place after his death. According to 1 Maccabees, furthermore, Lysias's expedition followed in the second year after the victory of Judas over Nicanor and Gorgias, while according to 2 Maccabees it took place after the purification of the

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Temple in the days of Antiochus V. It should also be noted that in 2 Maccabees reference is made to letters sent by Antiochus to the Jews, which find no mention in 1 Maccabees. Nevertheless, it seems to me that not only are the seeming chronological contradictions reconcilable according to the theory explained above, but these differences in narration too may be satisfactorily explained. As will be shown presently, the two accounts often supplement each other, since they are based on independent sources, and the apparent differences in the two narratives are due to the loose composition of 2 Maccabees, where a number of passages have been dislocated. In the following outline I shall reconstruct the historical order of the events narrated in Maccabees which will also make clear the relation between the two sources.

We know from 1 Macc. (1. 20–4) that in the year 143 A.S. (171–170 B.C.E.) Antiochus returned from his war with Egypt, and captured Jerusalem. This took place about the close of the summer 170 B.C.E.[73] According to the same source, Jerusalem was again captured by the forces of Antiochus IV two years later (1. 29). It is this event and not the first capture of Jerusalem with which 2 Maccabees opens. Thus the capture of Jerusalem in this source is properly connected with Antiochus's return from the second war with Egypt which took place 169–168,[74] and therefore

[73] Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, III, pp. 318–20. For renewal of the war between Antiochus IV and the Egyptians in the year 171/70 see Hitzig, *Das Buch Daniel*, p. 205; Wilcken in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Enc.*, II, 2470–6. See above, note 34.

[74] Antiochus IV was in Egypt in 169 (see above, note 35); comp. Polyb., XXVIII, 17 and XXIX, 23–6; Niese, *Geschichte*, III, pp. 174, 230–1, and 'Die beiden Makkabäerbücher', *Hermes*, XXV (1900), pp. 502–5; Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, II, p. 172; G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, II, 1908. See above, note 35.

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corresponds correctly with the date assigned for the second capture of Jerusalem in 1 Maccabees, 145 A. S. Following 1 Maccabees we learn that the erection of the statue of Zeus in the Temple was carried out in Kislev 145 A. S. This date is inherently impossible, because, according to the same source, the capture of Jerusalem took place in the summer of 145 A. S.–168 B. C. E. Consequently the erection of the statue of Zeus in Kislev must refer to Kislev 146 in the autumn of the 168 B. C. E. This emendation is corroborated by 2 Maccabees, where it is stated clearly that some time elapsed between the capture of Jerusalem and the placing of Zeus in the Temple (*μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον*).[75]

[75] We are quite safe in emending 145 into 146. The error crept in through the fact that earlier in the chapter it is stated that after two years, i. e. two years after 143, Antiochus came and captured Jerusalem. This was in the year 145, being, as we said above, in the summer of 168 B. C. Now some scribe thought that the setting up of the image next to the altar belonged to the two years whereof the author of 1 Maccabees speaks. Consequently it must have been in the year 145. But according to 2 Maccabees, there elapsed considerable time between Antiochus's capture of Jerusalem and his edict to set up the statue of Zeus in the Temple, *μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον*. According to Maccabees 2 it was Apollyon who set up the image (see Niese, *Geschichte*, III, p. 233 and note), and this should be three years before the cleansing of the Temple, so that the cleansing of the Temple took place in the month of Kislev, 165, and therefore the setting up of the image took place in Kislev, 168, which is the earlier part of 146 A. S. This number 145 does not belong here at all; it fits in the verse 29, where we read 'two years later', i. e. 145. In this passage disorder prevails, for whereas the Greek text has 'on the fifteenth of Kislev', the Syriac version of Maccabees in Codex Ambrosianus reads 'on the twenty-fifth of Kislev', which is certainly correct. Furthermore, the number 145 is represented in the Codex Alexandrinus by 45. All this goes to show that the text is confused, and that the passage cannot be accepted in its present state, but it is necessary to consider carefully its chronologic aspects and revise it. It is interesting to note that Kautzsch (*Apokrypha*, 1 Mak. 1. 54) puts the number 145 in parenthesis: apparently he is not convinced that it belonged to this verse.

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In the narrative of 1 Maccabees the revolt of Mattathias is now described, and his death is dated 146 (168–167 B.C.E.). The victory of Judas over Apollonius and Seron follows; Antiochus IV, who heard of the defeat of his generals, would have liked in person to proceed to Judea and to humble Judas, but he needed money, and on that account went to Persia with half of his army—the other half being committed to Lysias with the command to quell the insurrection in Judea. Antiochus crossed the Euphrates in 147 (167–166) (3. 37). Lysias, however, did not go in person to fight Judas, but sent Nicanor and Gorgias—evidently in the same year, 147. 2 Maccabees now joins 1 Maccabees in describing Judas's great victory over these generals, though the two accounts show slight variants.

Following again 1 Maccabees we note that in the second year after the expedition of Nicanor and Gorgias Lysias went in person to fight Judas *καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐχομένῳ ἐνιαυτῷ*, i. e. in the year 148 (166–165). Judas defeats Lysias, enters Jerusalem, and cleanses the Sanctuary in 148 (166–165). There follows a series of wars between the neighbouring nations and finally the death of Antiochus in the year 149 (165–164).

In 2 Maccabees the same events are narrated in a different order. Immediately after Judas's victory over Nicanor follows the account of his wars with the neighbouring nations and the death of Antiochus IV, and then comes the cleansing of the Temple by Judas, the succession of Antiochus Eupator to the throne, more wars with the neighbouring nations, and then finally Lysias's expedition and peace.

This order is incompatible with the same author's account of the historical events to the extent that we are forced to assume that we face here a peculiar dislocation

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of parts of the narrative, which may be attributed to the loose manner in which the author condensed the fuller account of Jason of Cyrene. Thus it is obvious that the expedition of Lysias could not have been delayed until after the death of Antiochus IV and after the purification of the Temple and the succession of Antiochus V. According to what we have seen above, Antiochus IV at the very time that he proceeded in person to Persia in 167–166 ordered Lysias to take measures to suppress the revolt in Judea. In accordance with these instructions Lysias, as we have seen, deputed Nicanor and Gorgias, who were repulsed by Judas evidently in the same year 166. Now it is certainly inconceivable that Lysias would delay all efforts to suppress the revolt for an interval of two years, which is implied in the present account of Maccabees, and meanwhile give the Judeans the opportunity to unite their forces, and fortify themselves more strongly against Syria. Furthermore, if this expedition belonged to the period of Antiochus Eupator, it would be strange that the author fails to mention the name of Antiochus Eupator in this connexion, as he does in recording the second campaign.[76] The reference to Lysias as being in sole control of his expedition can be only explained by assuming that it took place in the reign of Antiochus IV, while the latter was in Persia.[77]

Finally, and this is most conclusive, the letter of Antiochus V to Lysias ordering him to arrange for peace with Judas announces the recent death of his father Antio-

[76] Μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ παντελῶς χρονίσκον Λύσιας ἐπίτροπος τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ συγγενὴς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων (2 Macc. 11. 1).

[77] See Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, II, pp. 178–80 and Appendix J. See also Niese, *Geschichte*, III, p. 219.

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chus IV. Furthermore, the preceding letter containing the peace negotiations between Judas and Lysias is definitely dated 148.[78] Consequently the beginning of the expedition took place in the lifetime of Antiochus IV, according to the very account of 2 Maccabees, while the purification of the Temple and the establishment of peace took place early in the reign of Antiochus V. Undoubtedly Jason's history, which was the source of 2 Maccabees, properly fixed the beginning of Lysias's expedition in the reign of Antiochus IV, and the end in that of Antiochus V. The author of 2 Maccabees, copying the account, misplaced the beginning of the expedition in the reign of Antiochus V, where he really found the end of the expedition recorded.

Thus reconstructed, the account of 2 Maccabees corrects the narrative of 1 Maccabees. For, according to the latter, the purification of the Temple took place before the death of Antiochus IV. This is impossible, however, because Antiochus IV died early in the autumn of 165,[79] whereas the cleansing of the Temple did not take place till Kislev 165. In this respect therefore the account of 2 Maccabees is superior to that of 1 Maccabees. This is to be explained by the sources which were used by the two authors. The former was based presumably on the accurate account of Jason; while the latter was written in Palestine where,

[78] With regard to the letters sent by Antiochus V to the Jews, and also with regard to the embassies sent by Rome to the Jews, see Niese, *Hermes*, pp. 476–90. The first letter is dated 148 A. S. (165/4), and in the month of Dioscorus, on the twenty-fourth thereof. The month Dioscorus is not known to us. Many scholars think this is a Syro-Macedonian month, Dius, and this about corresponds with the Jewish month Ḥeshvan. The Peshitta has, in the place of Dioscorus, 'the Second Tishri', the Second Tishri of the Syrians. See also Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, III, Appendix 4.

[79] Niese, *l. c.*, pp. 473–6; Bevan, *l. c.*, p. 180 and Appendix J. See above, p. 13 and note 32a.

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owing to the state of siege, the Jews may not have known of the death of Antiochus IV until after peace was made with Lysias and the Temple had been purified, and this impression is reproduced in 1 Maccabees.[80]

The statement that the purification of the Temple occurred in Kislev 165 seems to be in contradiction to the date of 1 Maccabees according to my theory of this author's reckoning of the Seleucid era. For the date which is assigned for this event in 1 Maccabees is Kislev 148, which according to our calculation corresponds to Kislev 166 B. C. E. But this could not be correct, as Kislev of the year 148 (Sel.) fell in 166 B. C. E. and not in 165 B. C. E. However, it may be safely assumed that the number 148 crept in through error, and is to be emended into 149. Thus the Peshitta Codex Ambrosianus (ed. Ceriani) reads plainly the year one hundred and forty-nine (1 Macc., IV, 52). The error is easily explained on the ground that the scribe calculated the three years which, according to the plain statement of 1 Maccabees, elapsed between the defiling and the rededication of the altar on the basis of what we proved to be the false reading 145 A. S., and naturally attained the result 148.[81]

[80] It is quite possible that the death of Antiochus IV and the purification of the Temple both took place almost at the same time in the fall of 165 B. C. E.

[81] See above, p. 37, and n. 75. According to 1 Macc. (1. 54) three years elapsed between the defiling and the rededication of the Altar. This is also stated by Josephus, *Ant.* XII, 7. 6, but according to *Bel. Iud.* I, 4 and V, 9. 4, three years and six months passed. The two statements, however, are in agreement; the three years and six months are not from the time of the defiling but from the time when Antiochus captured Jerusalem and desolated the sanctuary in the year of 145 A. S., i. e. in the summer of 168 B. C. E. (see above, p. 37). Until the rededication of the Temple there was a period of three years and six months. These two statements are fully in agreement, Niese and Reinach notwithstanding.

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Attention may here be called to the passage in Josephus (*Ant.*, XII, 7. 6) where the purification and dedication of the Temple is dated 148 A. S., and in addition the Olympiad date 154 is also given. As the Olymp. 154 corresponds to July 164–July 160, the dedication of the Temple could not have taken place in Kislev of any other year than 164, which contradicts not only our established date of 165, but is opposed to his own date of 148 A. S. As a result, scholars have not hesitated to emend the reading of 154 Olymp. to 153–4 Olymp.,[82] while others place the event of Hanukkah in Kislev 164.[83]

We need not follow, however, either of these two strained conclusions. As Unger[84] has proved conclusively, there existed two systems of the Olympiad calendar, the Attic and the Macedonian respectively. The former was the original Olympiad calendar, 154 Olymp., corresponding to July 164–July 160. The Macedonian Olympiad calendar, on the other hand, is a modified form of the original Olympiad calendar which was adopted in the Macedonian period, and was adopted by the people in accordance with their established system of dating the new year. These peoples being accustomed to date the beginning of their year in the autumn, that is, in the month of Dius (November), they also fixed the new year of their adopted Olympiad calendar according to their traditional custom. Local divergences then ensued. In some localities, the beginning of year I Olymp. was shifted back from July 776 to the autumn 777. This record is pre-

See Niese, *Zur Chronologie des Josephus*, p. 225; see also Wieseler, *Chronologische Synopse*, p. 50, n. 2.

[82] Reinach, *Œuvres complètes de Flavius Josèphe*, *Ant.*, XII, 4. 6, p. 109, n. 2. See also Niese, *Zur Chronologie des Josephus*, pp. 224–5.

[83] See also Bevan, *l. c.*, Appendix J.

[84] Unger, *Die Seleukidenära der Makkabäerbücher*, chap. V, p. 300.

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served in Polybius, as Nissen has already shown.[85] On the other hand, records of Castor, Phlegon, Julius Africanus, Porphyrius,[86] and possibly Eusebius,[87] show that numerous localities dated October 776 as marking the beginning of year 2 of I Olymp., the fraction of the preceding Olympiad year being reckoned as a full year. (Compare above the similar method which was applied by the Jews to the Seleucid era.) In this system therefore the Olymp. 154 covers the years October 165–October 161, and the date given by Josephus in this connexion—Olymp. 154–1—really corresponds to Kislev 165 B. C. E. That Josephus was acquainted with this form of the Macedonian-Olympian calendar is clearly shown in his citation of Castor in *Contra Apionem* (I, 22) to the effect that the battle of Gaza was fought in the eleventh year after the death of Alexander, and in the 117 of Olympiad. Now the eleventh year after the death of Alexander is at the latest June 312 B. C. E.[88], whereas the 117 of Attic Olympiad only began July 312! Consequently it must be assumed that in this Olympiad the autumn of 776 marked the beginning of year 2, in which the Olymp. of 117 began in the autumn of 313 B. C. E.

It should be added that in the *Antiquities* Josephus uses the Olympiad nine times, but, owing to the composite nature of his sources, it becomes necessary to identify the calendar in each reference.[89]

[85] Nissen H., *Rhein. Museum*, 1871, p. 242.

[86] Unger, *l. c.*

[87] See Unger, *l. c.*; see also Droysen, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, III, Beilage II.

[88] Alexander died May–June 323 B. C. E. Plutarch, *Alexander*, 76; Clinton, *F. H.*, Oxford, II, pp. 176–8. See above.

[89] (1) *Ant.*, XII, 5. 4; (2) XII, 7. 6; (3) XIII, 8. 2; (4) XIV, 1. 2; (5) XIV, 4. 3; (6) XIV, 14. 5; (7) XIV, 16. 4; (8) XV, 5. 1; (9)

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We may now complete our reconstruction of the events occurring in Maccabees and bearing on the Megillat Taanit, as outlined in the diagram. That the peace between the Syrians and the Judeans did not last long is stated in both Maccabean Books. This time Lysias marched with Antiochus Eupator against Judas, in what is described 1 Macc. (6. 53) as a sabbatical year, i. e. from Tishri 164 to Tishri 163 (see above, p. 11; see also No. VIII). According to both books peace was established in the same year, but this peace was premature, and war broke out again after the accession of Demetrius in 151 A. S. (163–162 B. C. E.). Nicanor was entrusted with the expedition against Judas, and he met his death on 13th Adar. The year of his death is not recorded in either book, but indirectly we may safely infer that it was the year 152 A. S. or 161 B. C. E., as Demetrius received the news of this defeat in the first month (Nisan) of 152 A. S., 161 B. C. E.[90]

XVI, 5. 1. Comp. S. Zeitlin, *When did Jerusalem surrender to Antiochus Sidetes?* Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society, vol. XXVI, 1918, pp. 165–71.

[90] See above, note 27.

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CHAPTER V

THE CALENDAR SYSTEM IN *BELLUM IUDAICUM*.

AS in the Maccabees so in the works of Josephus the fundamental problem is to determine the chronology and calendar which Josephus employed in his narratives. We are confronted with the much discussed problem [91] whether in *Bellum Iudaicum* the Syrian names of the months are used to represent the Jewish months, Xanthicus approximately for Nisan, Artemisius for Iyyar, &c., or whether they represent the Julian (Solar) calendar proper, in which case Xanthicus corresponds to April, Artemisius is May, &c.

The following is an outline of the dated events in *Bell. Iud.*[92]

(1) The war began in the twelfth year of the reign of Nero, and the seventeenth of the reign of Agrippa, in the month Artemisius (II, 14. 4).

(2) On the sixteenth day of the month Artemisius and on the next day riots broke out in Jerusalem (II, 15. 2).

(3) On the fifteenth of the month of Lous an assault was made upon Antonia and the garrison was besieged (II, 17. 7).

[91] See Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, I, 400–2; Wieseler, *Chronol. Synopse*, p. 448; Unger, 'Die Tagdata des Josephus' (*Sitzungsberichte der Münchener Akademie, philos.-philol. u. hist. Cl.*, 1893 B., II, pp. 453–92); Schürer, *Geschichte*, I, pp. 755–60.

[92] This outline was given by Hoffmann, *De imperatoris Titi temporibus recte definiendis*, Marburg, 1883, and by Niese, *Hermes*, 1893, pp. 197–9.

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(4) On the sixth day of the month Gorpiaeus the king's palaces were captured (II, 17. 8).

(5) On the thirtieth day of the month Hyperberetaeus Cestius made an assault upon Jerusalem (II, 19. 4).

(6) On the eighth day of the month of Dius, in the twelfth year of the reign of Nero, the defeat of Cestius took place (II, 19. 9).

(7) On the twenty-first day of the month Artemisius Josephus came from Tiberias, and went into Jotapata (III, 7. 3).

(8) On the twentieth day of the month Daesius, the first assault was made upon Jotapata (III, 7. 29).

(9) On the twenty-fifth day of the month Daesius Japha was captured (III, 7. 31).

(10) On the twenty-seventh day of the month Daesius Gerizim was captured (III, 7. 32).

(11) On the first day of the month Panemus, in the thirteenth year of the reign of Nero, Jotapata was taken by the Romans (III, 7. 36).

(12) On the fourth day of the month Panemus Vespasian returned to Ptolemais (III, 9. 1).

(13) On the eighth day of the month Gorpiaeus the prisoners of Tarichea were taken (III, 10. 10).

(14) On the twenty-second day of the month Hyperberetaeus the tower of Gamala fell before the Romans (IV, 1. 9).

(15) On the twenty-third day of the month Hyperberetaeus Gamala was taken, whereas the city had first revolted on the twenty-fourth day of the month Gorpiaeus (IV, 1. 10).

(16) On the fourth day of the month Dystrius Vespasian entered the city of Gadara (IV, 7. 3).

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(17) On the second day of the month Daesius Vespasian pitched his camp by the city Coreai (IV, 8. 1).

(18) On the fifth day of the month Daesius Vespasian removed from Caesarea and marched against those places of Judea which had not yet been subdued (IV, 9. 9).

(19) In the month Xanthicus in the third year of the war Simon got possession of Jerusalem (IV, 9. 12).

(20) On the third day of the month Apellaeus Vitellius was killed (IV, 11. 4).

(21) On Passover, the fourteenth day of the month Xanthicus, John took possession of the Temple (V, 3. 1).

(22) On the seventh day of the month Artemisius the Romans took possession of the First Wall (V, 7. 2).

(23) On the twelfth day of the month Artemisius the Romans began to raise their earthworks against Antonia and the Temple (V, 11. 4).

(24) On the twenty-ninth day of the same month (Artemisius) these were completed (*ibid.*).

(25) A vast number of dead bodies were carried out from one gate of Jerusalem from the fourteenth day of the month Xanthicus to the first day of the month Panemus (V, 13. 7).

(26) On the first day of the month Panemus the Romans were attacked by the Jews (VI, 1. 3).

(27) On the third day of the month Panemus the Romans attempted to take possession of the tower of Antonia (VI, 1. 6).

(28) On the seventeenth day of the month Panemus the daily sacrifice (ἐνδελεχισμός) stopped (VI, 2. 1).

(29) On the twenty-fourth day of the month Panemus the Romans set fire to the Cloister (VI, 2. 9).

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(30) On the twenty-seventh day of the month Panemus the Jews set all the Western Cloisters on fire (VI, 3. 1).

(31) On the eighth day of the month Lous the Romans had completed their earthworks (VI, 4. 1).

(32) On the tenth day of the month Lous the Temple was burned by the Romans (in the second year of the reign of Vespasian) (VI, 4. 5, 8).

(33) On the eighth day of the month Xanthicus, when the people were come to the feast of unleavened bread, signs appeared in Jerusalem. A great light shone round the altar (VI, 5. 3).

(34) On the twenty-first day of the month Artemisius, a few days after the feast, a prodigious and incredible phenomenon appeared (*ibid.*).

(35) On the twentieth day of the month Lous the raising of earthworks against the upper city was begun (VI, 8. 1).

(36) On the seventh day of the month Gorpiaeus the Romans brought their machines against the wall (VI, 8. 4).

(37) On the eighth day of the month Gorpiaeus, in the second year of the reign of Vespasian, Jerusalem was taken by the Romans (VI, 8. 5; 10. 1).

(38) On the fifteenth day of the month Xanthicus (in the fourth year of the reign of Vespasian) Masada was taken (VII, 7. 1; 9. 1).

Scaliger[93] and Usher[94] maintained that Josephus in his *Bell. Iud.* used the Roman, i. e. the Julian calendar, and that Xanthicus = April and Artemisius = May.[95] According to this opinion, Titus's burning of the Temple,

[93] Joseph Scaliger, *Opus de Emendatione temporum*, lib. I, Genevae, 1629.

[94] Usher, *Annales Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, London, 1654, vol. ii.

[95] See further Usher, *l. c.*, and Scaliger, *l. c.*

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which Josephus tells us took place on the 10th of Lous, took place on the 10th of August. But since Noris[96] has shown that in the year 70 C.E. the 10th of Ab could not have fallen on the 10th of August, Clinton[97] and Ideler[98] inclined to the view that in *Bell. Iud.* Josephus makes use of the same calendar as in *Antiquities*, i.e. the Jewish Calendar, only substituting Syro-Macedonian names of the months for the Hebrew names, Xanthicus for Nisan, Artemisius for Iyyar, Daesius for Sivan, Lous for Ab, &c. They illustrate this method of translating the calendar from Josephus's fuller explanation in *Antiquities*, where he states that Passover was celebrated in Xanthicus, which the Jews call Nisan, and also with regard to Hanukkah, that they celebrate it in Apellaeus, which the Jews call Kislev.[99] Thus, too, when in *Bell. Iud.* Josephus states that Titus burned the Temple on the 10th of Lous, on the same month and day of the month whereon the first sanctuary had been destroyed by the Babylonians, it refers to the 10th of Ab and corresponds with the statement of Jeremiah that it took place on the 10th day of the fifth month, i.e. the 10th of Ab.[100] Another proof frequently quoted is Josephus's statement that the Wood-Festival was celebrated on the 14th day of Lous,[101] which seems to harmonize with the Mishnah.[102] The Wood-Festival is fixed on the 15th day of Ab. For though there is a difference of one day between Josephus and the Mishnah it is reconciled by assuming that part of the day before a Yom Tob

[96] Noris, *Annus et Epochae Syro-Macedonum*, p. 14, Lipsiae, 1696.
[97] H. Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, III, Appendix IV, Oxford, 1895.
[98] Ideler, *Handbuch*, *Ibid.*
[99] *Ant.* III, 10. 5; XII, 5. 4 and 7. 6.
[100] Jer. 52. 12.
[101] *Bell. Iud.* II, 17. 6.
[102] Mishnah, Taanit, IV, 5. 8.

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partakes of the character of Yom Tob,[103] or by assuming a scribal error in Josephus, where 15 of Lous should be read instead of 14.[104] By similar lines of argument many scholars have supported the view that in *Bell. Iud.* Josephus used the Jewish calendar, merely substituting Syro-Macedonian names of months for the Jewish names.

This view was opposed by O. A. Hoffmann,[105] who maintained that except in a few cases where the interest is purely Jewish, the months are those of the solar year, since Josephus lived in the Roman environment and treated of these matters as part of Roman history. Hence the majority of the months in *Bellum Iudaicum*, as distinct from those given in connexion with the Jewish holidays, are months of the Julian year, though the terminology is Syro-Macedonian. Schlatter[106] is particularly favourable to this view, and adds the further proof that the months in *Bell. Iud.* have 30 and 31 days, which clearly refers to the Julian or solar year, for months of the Jewish year have only 29 and 30 days, never 31.

Niese[107] agrees with Hoffmann that the calendar in *Bell. Iud.*, except where mention is made of Jewish festivals, is not that of the lunar cycle. Niese furthermore proves from *Antiquities* (III, 10. 5) where Josephus writes, 'On the fourteenth day of Xanthicus according to the lunar calendar' (*κατὰ σελήνην*) that Josephus knew of another Xanthicus according to solar reckoning (*κατὰ θεόν*).

[103] Schürer, *Geschichte*, p. 757.

[104] Graetz, III, p. 472; Derenbourg, *Essai*, p. 109, n. 2.

[105] Otto A. Hoffmann, *l. c.*, pp. 4–17.

[106] Schlatter, *Zur Topographie und Geschichte Palästinas*, 1893, pp. 360–7.

[107] Niese, 'Zur Chronologie des Josephus; Ueber den von Josephus im Bellum Iudaicum benutzten Kalender' (*Hermes*, XXVIII (1893), pp. 197–208).

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But Niese does not agree with Hoffmann that the months in *Bell. Iud.* are Roman. For if they were Roman months it would be hard to understand why Josephus used the Syro-Macedonian instead of Roman names proper. According to Niese the calendar of *Bell. Iud.* was not Roman, but the Tyrian, which was also a solar cycle and which was generally used in the Diaspora in Josephus's days. Niese[108] in this connexion borrowed Noris's proof that Josephus must have used this calendar when he recorded Vitellius's death as occurring on the third day of Apellaeus; for it is impossible to reconcile this date with Tacitus (*Hist.* III, 79 f.) that Vitellius died on the 20th December, except by assuming that Josephus's date, 3rd of Apellaeus, refers to the Tyrian calendar. For it is only in the Tyrian calendar that the third of Apellaeus falls on the 20th of December (Julian).[109] To the authority of Niese may be added that of Eduard Schwartz, who is one of the few noted scholars who accepted Niese's identification of Josephus's Tyrian calendars.[110] The Tyrian calendar is herewith subjoined.

(1) Hyperberetaeus	19th October	30 days
(2) Dius	18th November	30 „
(3) Apellaeus	18th December	30 „
(4) Audynaeus	17th January	30 „

[108] See Niese, *supra*.

[109] This was shown by Noris in his book, *Annus et Epochae* . . ., p. 61: 'Ibi nomine Apellaei nec suorum popularium Casleu lunarem intelligit, nec ipsum Apellaeum solarem Antiochensium aliarumque in superiori Syria gentium, sed plane designat Apellaeum solarem Tyriorum, qui quidem Tyriorum mensis inibat die XVIII° Decembris; unde tertia Apellaei cum XX° eiusdem Decembris concurrebat. . . . . Iosephus Apellaeum mensem loca laudato Phoenicum more expressit'.

[110] E. Schwartz, 'Christliche und jüdische Ostertafeln' (*Abhandl. d. K. Ges. d. Wissenschaft. z. Göttingen*, VII. Bd., 1905, pp. 138-69).

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(5) Peritius	16th February	30 days
(6) Dystrus	18th March	31 „
(7) Xanthicus	18th April	31 „
(8) Artemisius	19th May	31 „
(9) Daesius	19th June	31 „
(10) Panemus	20th July	31 „
(11) Lous	20th August	30 „
(12) Gorpiaeus	19th September	30 „[111]

In the course of this study it will become clear that only by assuming the Tyrian calendar in the *Bell. Iud.* can the dates of Megillat Taanit be made to agree with the dates of Josephus.[112] We shall also prove that even those dates which Niese concedes as referring to the lunar calendar are not to be so construed. For the present, however, we shall content ourselves with disproving the arguments of Ideler which have gained for his view the support of many scholars, and which Niese and Schwartz did not attempt to refute.

Firstly, the *Bell. Iud.* must be dissociated from the *Antiquities.* Unlike the *Bell. Iud.*. the *Antiquities* with few exceptions explicitly equates the Syriac with the Hebrew months as the following table clearly shows:

(1) The Flood began in the second month called by the Macedonians Dius, but by the Hebrews Marḥeshwan; for so did they order the year in Egypt. But Moses appointed that Nisan, which is the same as Xanthicus, should be the first month for their festivals, because he brought them out of Egypt in that month, so that this month began the year, although he preserved the original

[111] The year of the Tyrians began with the month Hyperberetaeus—October 19th.

[112] See below, No. XXI, XXII, XXV, XXVII.

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order of the months as to selling and buying, and other ordinary affairs. I, 3. 3; cp. Gen. 7. 11, and Talmud R. ha-Shanah.

(2) God commanded Moses to tell the Hebrews to make ready a sacrifice on the tenth day of the month Xanthicus against the fourteenth; the month is called by the Egyptians Pharmuthi, and by the Hebrews Nisan, but the Macedonians call it Xanthicus. II, 14. 6; cp. Exod. 12. 3–6.

(3) They (the Hebrews) left Egypt in the month Xanthicus, in the fifteenth day of the lunar month. II, 15. 2; cp. above, No. 2, and Exod. 12. 1–43.

(4) In the month Xanthicus, as the Macedonians call it, but the Hebrews call it Nisan, on the new moon, they consecrated the Tabernacle. III, 8. 4; cp. Exod. 40. 16.

(5) Concerning the Festivals: The seventh month, which the Macedonians call Hyperberetaeus, on the tenth day of the same lunar month in the month of Xanthicus, which is by us called Nisan, on the fourteenth day of the lunar month. III, 10. 1–6; cp. Num. 29. 1–39.

(6) On the first day of the lunar month Xanthicus Miriam the sister of Moses died. IV, 4. 6; cp. Num. 20. 1.

(7) Aaron died on the first day of the lunar month called by the Athenians Hecatombaeon, by the Macedonians Lous, and by the Hebrews Ab. IV, 4. 7; Num. 33. 38; cp. Tal. Taanit 9.

(8) Moses died on the first day of the month, which is called by the Macedonians Dystrus, but by us Adar, IV, 8. 49; cp. Tal. Kiddushin 38, where the tradition of Moses' death is given as having taken place on the seventh of Adar.

(9) In the second month which the Macedonians call

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Artemisius, and the Hebrews Iyyar, Solomon began to build the Temple. VIII, 3. 1; cp. 1 Kings 6. 1.

(10) In the seventh month which is called by our countrymen Tishri, but by the Macedonians Hyperberetaeus, the Jews assembled together to remove the ark of God to the Temple. VIII, 4. 1; cp. 1 Kings 8. 2.

(11) On the twenty-third day of the twelfth month, which is called by us Adar, but by the Macedonians Dystrus, the second temple was built. XI, 4. 7; cp. Ezra 6. 15; see also below, chap. VIII.

(12) On the feast of unleavened bread, in the first month, which is called according to the Macedonians Xanthicus, but according to us Nisan, all the people celebrated the festival, having purified themselves, according to the law of their country. XI, 4. 8; cp. Ezra 6. 19–22.

(13) All the Jews of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin came together, according to the decision of the Elders, on the twentieth day of the ninth month, which according to the Hebrews is called Tebeth [Kislev] and according to the Macedonians Apellaeus. XI, 5. 4; cp. Ezra 10. 9.

(14) In the twelfth month, which was called Adar, Artaxerxes made a wedding feast for Esther. XI, 6. 2.

(15) That the Jews may defend themselves the very same day from unjust violence, namely, on the thirteenth day of the twelfth month, which is Adar (from the letter of Artaxerxes). XI, 6. 12; cp. Esther 8. 12.

(16) On the thirteenth day of the twelfth month, which according to the Hebrews is called Adar, but according to the Macedonians Dystrus, they (the Jews) should destroy their enemies. XI, 6. 13; cp. Esther 9.

(17) They (the Jews) banded themselves together again

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on the fourteenth day of the month Dystrus, and slew their enemies. *Ibid.*, cp. above, 16, and Esther 9. 1–18.

(18) In the letter from Antiochus the Great to Ptolemy he said that he granted a discharge from taxes for three years to its present inhabitants, and to such as shall migrate to it (Jerusalem) before the month Hyperberetaeus. XII, 3. 3.

(19) On the twenty-fifth day of the month, which is called Kislev by us and by the Macedonians Apellaeus, Antiochus erected an altar on the top of God's altar. XII, 5. 4 and XII, 7. 6; cp. 1 Macc. 1. 59; 4. 52.

(20) On the twenty-fifth day of the month Kislev, which the Macedonians called Apellaeus, the Jews purified the Temple. XII, 7. 6; cp. 1 Macc. 4.

(21) On the twentieth day of that month, which is called by the Jews Adar, and by the Macedonians Dystrus, the victory over Nicanor took place. XII, 10. 5; cp. 1 Macc. 7. 49 and 2 Macc. 15. 36.

Furthermore, it must be remembered that with one exception[113] all the dates mentioned in the *Antiquities* occur in the first Twelve Books, which are directly based on Hebrew documents and traditions, whereas the sources of *Bell. Iud.* are the contemporary documents of the war-time which were naturally dated according to the Tyrian calendar which prevailed universally in Syria.

[113] This exception is fully explained by the fact that his source was, as he himself states, the letter of Antiochus the Great to Ptolemy, and so there was no occasion for giving the Jewish month. Also in the latter books (XIV), where he gives the decree of the City of Athens, he uses the months mentioned in that document. In the decrees of the Romans, too, he gives Roman months, April, February, and October. Names of months were drawn from his sources. Comp. also *Ant.* VIII, 13. 2.

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Furthermore, the same passage in *Bell. Iud.* concerning the death of Vitellius on the third of Apellaeus,[114] which is used by Niese to prove that the Roman calendar could not have been employed here as this would conflict with the testimony of Tacitus, who dates his death December 20,[115] can be used with equal force to prove that the Hebrew calendar is not in consideration here, for Dec. 20, in 69 C.E. corresponds to Kislev 19–20, and not to the third of Kislev.[116]

Finally, the strongest proof advanced by Ideler regarding the Hebrew character of the nominally Macedonian months, which is based on the identification of the Wood-Festival on the 14th of Lous with the festival known to the Mishnah as the 15th of Ab, and which has thus far been generally conceded even by those who oppose the general inference drawn from this by Ideler, is open to serious criticism. For, as we shall show presently, this festival is none other than the Wood-Festival of the 10th of Elul, and if our

[114] *Bell. Iud.*, IV, 11. 4.

[115] Tacitus, *Hist.*, III, 79.

[116] The third of Apellaeus was in 69 C.E. close to the twentieth of Kislev. Lewin, *Fasti Sacri*, p. 354, London, 1900, thinks in our texts of *Bell. Iud* these are scribal errors, and that instead of τρίτῃ Ἀπελλαίου it should read K (20) Αὐδιναίου, because, according to Lewin, the calendar used by Josephus in *Bell. Iud.* was the Jewish one, and in 69 C.E. the 20th of December fell about 20th Tebet (Ginzel, *Handbuch*, Tafel IV). As Gumpach observes (*Über den alt. jüd. Kalender*, Tabella I, Leipzig, 1848), this was a leap year. But this year was not a leap year on account of being a sabbatical year (68–69 is a sabbatical year, see above). Those who believe that the Calendar is used in *Bell. Iud.* according to the Jewish months, see errors where they do not exist. Hence, Lewin who claims that for Apellaeus we must substitute Audynaeus, as well as those scholars who, because the Mishnah mentions 15th of Ab as a Wood-Festival, are determined on changing the 14th of Lous—mentioned in *Bell. Iud.* as a Wood-Festival—to 15th of Lous, and thus proving Lous = Ab,—all these pervert the chronography of this work of Josephus. See further below, No. XXIII, p. 95.

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theory is correct the identification of Lous with Ab must be completely abandoned.[117]

[117] It is interesting to note that in *Bell. Iud.* Josephus mentions 15th of Xanthicus (No. 38) and makes no reference to its being Passover. Apparently in this year, 72 C. E., the 15th of Xanthicus did not fall on the 15th of the month Nisan. Masada was captured in 72 C. E., see Niese, *l. c.*, pp. 211–12; Tillemont, *Histoire*, I, p. 655, and C. Zumpt, *Annales veterum regnorum et populorum imprimis Romanorum*, Berlin, 1892.

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CHAPTER VI

THE GREAT REVOLT AGAINST THE ROMANS.

ASSUMING that Josephus employed the Tyrian calendar in his account of the Jewish Revolt, it is still impracticable to identify the dates of Megillat Taanit before we determine the year of the Great Rebellion. The consensus of opinion is that the Revolt began in the year 66 C. E.[118] Westberg,[119] on the other hand, adopts the year 67, while Jost[120] maintains that the war began in 65 C. E.

Josephus twice refers to the Revolt as beginning in the twelfth year of Nero: in connexion with Cestius's defeat,[121] and in an earlier passage telling how the rebellion broke out against the Romans and Florus—on the 17th of Artemisius in the twelfth year of Nero's imperatorship and in the 17th year of Agrippa.[122] A critical examination of these two passages shows that the dates cannot be placed in one year. For if the outbreak of the Rebellion occurred in the month of Artemisius of the twelfth year of Nero, then the defeat of Cestius could not have been in the eighth of Dius of the same year of Nero; for it is known that Nero became emperor on the thirteenth day of October 54 C. E.;[123] and according to no calculation

[118] See Schürer, I, 600; Graetz, III², 451.

[119] Friedrich Westberg, *Zur neutestamentlichen Chronologie*, Leipzig, 1911, pp. 14–16.

[120] Jost, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, II, p. 88 and note 31.

[121] *Bell. Iud.* II, 19. 9 *τάδε μὲν* [ταῦτα] *οὖν ἐπράχθη Δίου μηνὸς ὀγδόῃ δωδεκάτῳ* [*ἔτει*] *τῆς Νέρωνος ἡγεμονίας.*

[122] *Bell. Iud.* II, 14. 4.

[123] See Tacitus, *Ann.* XII, 63.

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could Artemisius precede Dius in any one year of Nero's reign. For, whether Josephus used the Roman calendar, and Artemisius corresponded to May and Dius to November, or whether he used the Jewish calendar and Artemisius was Iyyar and Dius was Heshvan, or whether his calendar was the Tyrian, Artemisius preceded Dius in the year of Nero's reign. Therefore the revolt must either have begun in Artemisius in the eleventh year of Nero's reign or else the defeat of Cestius occurred not in the twelfth but in the thirteenth year of Nero's reign.[124]

This seemingly insurmountable difficulty is satisfactorily solved by Unger.[125] According to him Josephus counted Nero's imperium not from the day on which he ascended the throne, but either from the beginning of the calendar year (January 1), or from the day of the Tribunicia Potestas (December 10). This theory finds corroboration elsewhere. Thus the date January 60 C. E. is described as Tribun. Potest. VII Imper. Consu. IV.[126] Now the reckoning of

[124] Niese already felt (*Hermes*, 1893, p. 211) this difficulty, and he explained that Josephus counts the year of Nero's reign not from the date of his accession to the throne, but from the first day of Nisan, 55 C. E. Thus Artemisius precedes Dius, and these months of the 12th year of Nero fall in 66 C. E. But Niese hereby contradicts himself, for it is his theory that in the *Bell. Iud.* the calendar of the months is not Jewish but Tyrian (*l. c.*, 202–41). Furthermore, if it be assumed that Josephus employed the Jewish calendrical system in his computation of the years of Nero's reign, then the months of Dius and Artemisius in 66 C. E. would be counted in the 13th year of Nero's reign, not the 12th. For, according to Jewish calculation, the period from the 13th of October, 54 C. E., when Nero ascended the throne, until Nisan 55 C. E., would be reckoned as a full year.

[125] Unger, 'Zu Josephus', *Sitzungsberichte der Münchener Akademie, Philos.-philol. u. hist. Cl.*, 1896, pp. 383–97.

[126] See Henzen, 'Eine neue Arvaltafel', *Hermes*, II, 1867, pp. 37–55. Th. Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, II, p. 755, n. 1. See also Stobbe, 'Die Tribunenjahre der römischen Kaiser', *Philologus*, XXXII, 1873, pp. 23–9.

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Nero's imperial reign was dated from the day when he ascended the throne, October 13, 54 C. E., then the date January 60 C. E. could not be described otherwise than Imper. VI. If, however, we assume that Nero's reign was dated from the beginning of the calendar year 54 C. E., or in other words that the first year of his reign ended with the calendar year 54 C. E., and hence January 1, 55 C. E. marked the beginning of the second year, or, likewise, if the years of the reign were calculated according to the Trib. Potest., and hence the first year of his reign ended Trib. Potest. December 10, 54, then January 60 C. E. is properly described Imper. VII.[127] This is also borne out by most of the coins issued in the fourth consulate of Nero (60 C. E.) whereon we find Tribun. Potest. VII.[128]

According to this theory, the 17th day of Artemisius and the 8th of Dius in the twelfth year of Nero's reign correspond to June 4 and November 25 in the year 65 C. E., and therefore the revolt is to be definitely dated in the year 65 C. E., and not 66 C. E., as is generally assumed, and consequently Vespasian's command in Galilee began not in 67 C. E. but in 66 C. E.[129] The date 65 C. E. as the year

[127] See Unger, *l. c.*

[128] Eckhel, *Doctrina numorum*, VI, p. 264. Accordingly they calculated the years of Vespasian, not from his ascending the Emperor's throne, which, according to Tacitus and Suetonius, took place July 69 C. E., but from his *tribunicia potestas*; see further, Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, pp. 752-4.

[129] M. Le Nain de Tillemont, *Histoire des Empereurs*, shows that Cappel, too, heeds the view that Josephus counted the years of Nero's reign not from the day of his ascending the throne, but according to the years of his consulate, and hence that the revolt began, not in 66 C. E., but in 65 C. E. As Louis Cappel's book is not generally accessible, I quote Tillemont's excerpt verbatim: 'Joseph dit que la guerre des Juifs commença au mois de May l'an 12 de Neron [s'il conte ces années du 13 Octob. 54 auquel Neron fut declaré Empereur, c'estoit certainement en 66, mais il

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of the revolt fits in also with Josephus's remark that it occurred in the seventeenth year of the reign of Agrippa. For it was after the death of Herod II (of Chalcis),[130] in the eighth year of Claudius,[131] that is at the close of 48 C. E. or the beginning of 49 C. E., that Claudius decided to give the kingdom to Agrippa, which he did in the following summer.[132] Josephus, it may be assumed, counted the reign of Agrippa from the 1st of Nisan, as was the custom of Jewish kings[133] (באחד בניסן ראש השנה למלכים, Rosh ha-Shanah 1), according to which the interval between the time of his ascending the throne and the New Moon of Nisan, 50 C. E., constituted year one, &c.[134], so that the seventeenth year of his reign began with Nisan 65 C. E.

That the revolt broke out in 65 is to be seen also from the chronology of the *Seder Olam*, which gives the dynasty of Herod as 103 years (*Seder Olam*, ch. 30): מלכות בית הורדום מאה ושלש שנים. The dynasty of Herod dated from the beginning of Herod's rule, early in 37 B. C. E., shortly after the death of Antigonus,[135] which occurred in January 37 B. C. E.[136] According to Josephus Herod ruled thirty-

paroist qu'il ne s'attache pas à ce jour] puisque le 8 Novemb. suivant estoit encore selon luy dans la 12e année de ce Prince. Il conte donc par les consulats, depuis le premier Janvier qui a precedé le 13 Octob. 54 ou qui l'a suivi. Selon le premier, la guerre a commencé en 65 et c'est le sentiment de Luis Cappel dans son abregé de l'histoire des Juifs' (p. 121). Tillemont, *Histoire*, 'Notes sur la Ruine des Juifs', Note XXII, Paris, 1690. See also Scaliger, *Emend. Temp.*, pp. 468-70.

[130] *Bell. Iud.*, II, 12. 1; Tacitus, *Annales*, XII (in the year 49 C. E.).

[131] *Ant.*, XX, 5. 2; cp. Tacitus, *Annales*, XII.

[132] Clinton, *Fasti Romani*, I, p. 32; Lewin, *Fasti Sacri*, pp. 48-9.

[133] About his similarly computing the years of Herod, see below, p. 62.

[134] See Rosh ha-Shanah 2 b.

[135] Βασιλεύσας μεθ' ὃ μὲν ἀνεῖλεν Ἀντίγονον ἔτη τέσσαρα καὶ τριάκοντα, *Ant.* XVII, 8. 1.

[136] See above, p. 24.

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four years. Herod died at the close of Adar 4 B. C. E.[137] Now, from 37 B. C. E. to 4 B. C. E. there is only a period of thirty-three years. But doubtless Josephus's chronology for the reign of Herod is based on the Jewish calendar according to which the month of Nisan is the beginning of the regnal year (cp. above). Consequently the New Moon of Nisan 37 B. C. E. marked already the beginning of the second year.[138] From the beginning of 37 B. C. E. until the close of the summer or autumn of 65 C. E. when the Jews threw off the Roman yoke, and soon after also the yoke of the Herodian house (see further XXV, XXVI, XXVII, XXVIII), is a period of 103 years.[139] By this we are to understand chronological years, not complete years—the terminal fraction of a year being accounted a year. The same is borne out by another passage of the *Seder Olam* regarding the wars between the Romans and the Jews. מפולמום של אסווורום (וורום) עד פולמום (של דומים) של אספסיינום פ"[ע] שנים אלו בפני הבית מפולמום של אספסיינום עד פולמום של קיטום נ"ב שנים ומפולמום של קיטום עד מלחמת בן כחיבא י"ו שנה ומלחמת [מלכות] בן כויבא שתי [שלש] שנים ומחצה. From the expedition of Severus (Varus) to the expedition of Vespasian seventy years elapsed, i. e. from the expedition of Varus[140]

[137] See below, p. 101 ; Schürer, I, pp. 415–18.

[138] According to the Talmud, if a king ascends the throne even in Adar, the time until Nisan is accounted a year, and with that Nisan begins his second year (R. ha-Shanah 3 a).

[139] In regard to the chronology followed by *Seder Olam* in its total of 103 years for the throne of the Hasmonean house, see below in note 235.

[140] By emending אסווירום, we get the only intelligible reading, פולמום של וורום (the expedition of Varius) ; so all scholars read, e. g. F. Westberg, *Zur neutestamentlichen Chronologie*, p. 17 ; Schürer, *Geschichte*, I, 421 ; Derenbourg, *Histoire*, p. 194. G. Volkmar, *Handbuch der Einleitung in die Apokryphen*, I, Tübingen, 1860, substitutes אסווינום for אסווורום, a supposed transliteration of the name of Sabinus who was Augustus's legate in the year when Herod died.

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in 4 B.C.E., shortly after the death of Herod, until the expedition of Vespasian, which according to our view took place in the summer of 66, there is chronologically a period of seventy years.[141] Similarly, from the expedition of Vespasian, 66 C.E., to the expedition of Quietus, 117 C.E., there elapsed chronologically fifty-two years, i.e. by reckoning the terminal fractions of the years 66 and 117 as full years.[142] Finally, the interval between the expedition

[141] In place of 'eighty' there should be 'seventy' years. So Westberg, *l. c.*; Schürer. *l. c.*; Derenbourg, *l. c.*; Volkmar, *l. c.*, p. 84. That in this passage we must emend 80 to 70 we can see from another source. When R. Akiba, at the beginning of Hadrian's reign, started his propaganda for revolution. he demonstrated to the Jews that now was the favourable moment for it, that the Messianic era was approaching, and called Ben Kozeba the Messiah; in this connexion also he expounded the Messianic prophecies of Haggai (2. 6–9), (Sanhedrin 97 b) עוד אחת מעט הוא ואני מרעיש את השמים ואת הארץ . . . והרעשתי את כל הגוים ומלאתי את הבית הזה כבוד. Now Rabbi Akiba developed it thus: 'Yet once a little while', that is to say, Haggai prophesied another period of exile of Babylon, but it will be only a little while, מלכות ראשונה שבעים שנה ומלכות שניה חמשים ושתים שנה, i.e. the first kingdom or domination of the Romans, extending from the expedition of Varus (4 B.C.E.) until the close of the year 65 C.E., when they threw off the Roman yoke, is a period of seventy chronological years (though in this period kings of Herodian family maintained royal state, and in a slight degree royal prerogative, possessing hardly a semblance of power,—their main object being to please the Romans, upon whose favour their position depended). The second period of foreign domination evidently was from the destruction of the Temple, 70 C.E., until the time when R. Akiba aroused the people to revolt against the Romans (and this was in the year 121 C.E.). But after these two periods of foreign domination—continues R. Akiba in his exposition—'I shall shake all the nations and the House shall be filled with glory', i.e. the Messiah shall come. Rashi did not understand this comment of R. Akiba as referring to his own times, hence he was forced to give a far-fetched explanation. But see Ḥiddushe Aggadot of R. Samuel Eliezer Edels (Maharsha) on this.

[142] This shows clearly that the insurrection at the close of Trajan's reign included Judea as well as the Diaspora, though Renan, *Les Évang.*, p. 509, expresses his opinion that in these disturbances the Jews of Palestine took

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II. [154] בשבעה באייר חנוכת שור ירושלם די לא למספר: בארבעת עשר ביה [155] [נכיסת] פסחא זעירא די לא [156] למספר: בעשרין ותלתא ביה נפקו בני חקרא [157] מירושלם: בעשרין ושבעה ביה אתנטילו כלילאי [158] [מיהודה ו]מירושלם:

III. [159] בארבעת עשר בסיון אחידת מנדל [160] צור: בחמשת [161] עשר ביה ובשתת עשר ביה גלו אנשי בית שאן ואנשי בקעתה: [162] בעשרין וחמשה ביה [163] אתנטילו דימוסנאי [164] מיהודה ומירושלים:

IV [165] בארבעת [עשר] בתמז עדא ספר נזירתא [166] [די לא למספר:

this we have Warsaw and London editions. Scholars who have done most work in connexion with our Megillah are Derenbourg, Graetz, Schwab, as mentioned above; J. Schmilg, *Ueber Entstehung und historischen Werth des Siegeskalenders Megillath Taanith*, Leipzig, 1874; P. Cassel, *Messianische Stellen*. An English translation of this Megillah is given by Edersheim, *The Life and Times of Jesus*, v. II, pp. 698–700. See Steinschneider's bibliography in *Geschichtsliteratur des Alten Testaments über Megillath Taanit*, Berlin, 1885. A full list of the scholars whose opinions or views I cite I shall give wherever it is essential.

[145] Parma, לאתענאה.

[146] According to the Jerushalmi (Taanit 66a): אילין יומיא די לא למספר בהן מקצתהן די לא להתענייא בהן. [146a] J. Meg. 70c.

[147] Not found in Jerushalmi Megillah 70c; in Jerushalmi Taanit 66a.

[148] אתקם, Jerushalmi Megillah 70c; Jerushalmi Taanit 66a, דיתקן.

[149] Not found (in parallel) in Jerushalmi.

[150] Not found in Babli Taanit 17b. [151] P. אתקן.

[152] Not found in Parma MS.

[153] In M. MS. is דלא למספר משום דאיתותב חנא דשבועיא.

[154] In P. fifth of Iyyar; in Ṣedah la-Derek, On 17th of Iyyar.

[155] Not found in Babli Ḥullin 129b.

[156] M. adds ודלא להתנעה.

[157] M. הקראים; in Ṣedah la-Derek, סיקרא.

[158] In M. not found; in Ṣedah la-Derek no mention of this day.

[159] P. בשבעה; M. בארביסר.

[160] P. צר; M. שר. [161] M. בחמיסר בה ובשיתסר ביה.

[162] Babli Sanhedrin 91a: On the twenty-fourth of Nisan; Ṣedah la-Derek: 21st (of Sivan).

[163] P. נטלו. [164] P. מן ירושלים.

[165] P. בארבעה; Ṣedah la-Derek has ב"ז בתמוז.

[166] Not found in P.

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V. בחמשת עשר באב זמן אעי כהניא די לא למספד: בעשרין [167] וארבעה [168] ביה תבנא לדיננא:

VI. [169] בשבעה באלול [170] [יום] חנכת שור ירושלם די לא למספד: בשבעת עשר ביה [171] (אתנטילו) [נפקו] רומאי [172] (מיהודה ו) מירושלם: בעשרין ותרין ביה תבנא לקטלא רשיעיא:

VII. בתלתא בתשרי [173] אתנטילת [174] אדכרתא מן שטריא:

VIII. בעשרין ותלתא [175] במרחשון אסתתר סורינה מן עזרתא: בעשרין וחמשה ביה אחידת [176] [שורת] שמרון: בעשרין ושבעה ביה תבת סלתא למיסק על מדבחא:

IX. בתלתא בכסלו [177] אתנטילו סימותא מן דרתא: בשבעה ביה [178] [יום טב]: בעשרין [179] וחד ביה יום חר נריזים [180] [די לא למספד]: בעשרין וחמשה ביה יום [181] חנכת תמניא יומין די לא למספד:

X. בעשרין ותמניא בטבת [182] יתיבת [183] [בי] כנישתא על דינא:

XI. בתרין בשבט יום טב ודי לא למספד: בעשרין ותרין ביה בטילת עבידתא דאמר סנאה להיתאה להיכלא די לא למספד: כעשרין ותמניא ביה אתנטיל אנטיוכוס [184] [מלכא] מן ירושלם:

XII. בתמניא ובתשעה באדר יום תרעת מטרא: בתרין עשר ביה יום [185] טיריון: בתלת עשר ביה יום נקנור: בארבעת עשר ביה ובחמשת עשר ביה [186] [יומי] פוריא [187] [אינין] די לא למספד: בשתת [188] עשר ביה

[167] Babli Baba batra 115 b; Munich MS. has ותמניא.

[168] Babli Baba batra 155 b, בטבת.

[169] In P. בארבעה, likewise in Ṣedah la-Derek.

[170] Not found in P. [171] P. נפקו. [172] Not found in P.

[173] Babli R. ha-Shanah 18b, בטילת.

[174] In some editions by mistake אדרכתא.

[175] In Ṣedah la-Derek: 'On the 22nd'. [176] Not in P.

[177] M. ערו. [178] Not in P.

[179] Babli Yoma 69 a: 'On 25th' (of Tebet).

[180] Not found in P., but it is in Babli Yoma 69 a.

[181] Babli Shabbat 21 b, יומי דחנוכה תמניא אינון.

[182] P. יתיבא. [183] So in P. [184] Not found in P.

[185] So in Jerusalmi Megillah 70 c, Taanit 66 a; Babli Taanit 18 b, טוריינום; in Ṣedah la-Derek this day not mentioned. In B. MS. it reads בתריסר.

[186] So in Babli Taanit 18 b, Megillah 5 b; not in Jerusalmi's parallels.

[187] Not in Jerusalmi, *ibid.* [188] P. בשיתא.

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שריין [189] למבנא שור ירושלם די לא למספד: בשבעת [190] עשר ביה קמו עממיא על פליטת ספריא במדינא [191] כלקים וביה [192] זברין [193] והוה פרקן [194] לבית ישראל]: בעשרין ביה צמו עמא למטרא [195] ונחת להון]: בעשרין ותמניא ביה אתת בשורתא טבתא ליהודאי דלא יעדון [196] מן אוריתא [די לא למספד:] [197] להן כל אנש דיהוי עלוהי [198] מן קדמת דנא] [199] אסר בצלו: [200]

These are the days on which one is not allowed to fast, and on some of them it is not permitted to mourn.

I. (*a*) From [on] the 1st [until the 8th] of Nisan was established the Daily offering,—mourning is forbidden.

(*b*) From the 8th thereof until the close of the festival (of Passover) a holiday (of a week) was declared during which it is forbidden to mourn.

II. (*a*) On the 7th of Iyyar was the dedication of the wall of Jerusalem, and it is forbidden to mourn thereon.

(*b*) On the 14th thereof (was slaughtered) the Minor Passover, on which it is forbidden to mourn.

[189] So in Jerushalmi Taanit 66 a; J. Megillah 70 c.

[190] Not in Jerushalmi Taanit 66 a, but is so in J. Megillah 76 c.

[191] So in Jerushalmi Megillah 70 c; P. כלבום.

[192] So in Jerushalmi 70 c.

[193] So in Jerushalmi Taanit 66 a and J. Megillah, *ibid.*

[194] Not in P. nor in Jerushalmi, *ibid.*

[195] It is found in Jerushalmi Taanit 66 d, and we read צמון כל עמא.

[196] P. מפתנמי · אוריתא, so also Munich MS.

[197] Not found in B.

[198] Neither in J. Taanit 66 a nor in J. Megillah 70 c; see the whole passage there.

[199] So in Jerushalmi, *ibid.*

[200] Gaster, in his article, 'An unknown Hebrew Version of the History of Judith' (see *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, reprinted March, 1894), is of the opinion that the passage in Cod. Heb. Gaster, No. 82, fragment 172 a–173 a, מעשה תנו רבנן: בשמונה עשר באדר יום שעלה סליקום הוא . . . , refers to one of the holidays mentioned in our Megillah.

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(*c*) On the 23rd thereof the garrison departed from Jerusalem.

(*d*) On the 27th thereof was discontinued payment of the tribute (from Judah and Jerusalem).

III. (*a*) On the 14th of Sivan the tower of the Fort was captured (see No. XXI).

(*b*) On the 15th and 16th thereof the people of Beth-shean and the valley were exiled.

(*c*) On the 25th thereof the publicans were removed from Judah and Jerusalem.

IV. On the 4th (10th) of Tammuz the book of decrees was removed (on which it is not allowed to mourn).

V. (*a*) On the 15th of Ab, the day of Xylophoria, it is forbidden to mourn.

(*b*) On the 24th thereof we returned to our Law.

VI. (*a*) On the 7th of Elul was the day of the dedication of the wall of Jerusalem, on which it is forbidden to mourn.

(*b*) On the 17th thereof the Romans evacuated Judah and Jerusalem.

(*c*) On the 22nd thereof we began to slay the wicked.

VII. On the 3rd of Tishri were removed the 'mentions' on documents.

VIII. (*a*) On the 23rd of Heshvan the Sorega was torn away from the 'Azarah.

(*b*) On the 25th thereof the wall of Samaria was captured.

(*c*) On the 27th thereof they began again to bring the offerings of fine flour upon the altar.

IX. (*a*) On the 3rd of Kislev the ensigns were removed from the Court.

(*b*) On the 7th thereof (a holiday).

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(*c*) On the 21st thereof was the day of Mt. Gerizim (on which it is not allowed to mourn).

(*d*) On the 25th thereof is the day of Hanukkah: eight days it is forbidden to mourn.

X. On the 28th of Tebeth the Sanhedrin sat in judgement.

XI. (*a*) On the 7th of Shebat is a holiday, whereon it is not allowed to mourn.

(*b*) On the 22nd thereof the work on what the enemy commanded to bring into the Temple was stopped; not allowed to mourn.

(*c*) On the 28th thereof Antiochus (the king) departed from Jerusalem.

XII. (*a*) The 8th and 9th of Adar they supplicated and sounded blasts for rain.

(*b*) On the 12th thereof is the day of Tyrian; see No. XXIX.

(*c*) On the 13th thereof is the day of Nicanor.

(*d*) On the 14th and 15th thereof (are the days of) Purim, on which it is not allowed to mourn.

(*e*) On the 16th thereof was begun the building of the wall of Jerusalem; it is forbidden to mourn thereon.

(*f*) On the 17th thereof the Gentiles arose against the refugees of Sepphoris in the province of Chalcis and in Beth Zabdain, but there came salvation (to the Jews); see No. XXX.

(*g*) On the 20th thereof the people fasted for rain (and it descended).

(*h*) On the 28th thereof the glad tidings reached the Jews that they were not to be restrained from the study of the Law. It is not permitted to mourn thereon.

It is obvious that the text of the Megillah is arranged

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according to the sequence of the months and not in chronological order. To establish the historical meaning of the events commemorated in the Megillah, and to interpret these, it is necessary to rearrange the various dates in a chronological setting. The following diagram is an outline of the events which underlie the celebrations described in the Megillah, and which fall into four main periods:

A. The pre-Hasmonean Period.
B. The Hasmonean Period,
C. Roman Period till 65.
D. The Great Revolt, 65-66.
E. Miscellaneous.

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CHAPTER VIII

A. The Pre-Hasmonean Period.

I. From [on] the New Moon of Nisan (until the 8th thereof) the Tamid was established.

According to the Scholiast this holiday commemorates the triumph of the Pharisees over the Sadducees when it was decided that the daily offering (Tamid) should be provided at the expense of the community (paid for out of the public treasury), in opposition to the view of the Sadducees who maintained that it should be paid for by individuals. This is also the generally accepted view.[201] It does not explain, however, why the fête should be protracted over seven days nor does it offer a reason for the particular selection of the week between the 1st and the 8th of Nisan to commemorate that Pharisaic victory. The Scholiast lightly passes over these difficulties by assuming שאותן הימים שדנום עשאום יו"ט, that the debates which ended in that victory continued for a week—the first in Nisan, but this explanation is without support or corroboration. Dalman[202] thinks that this holiday commemorated the setting up of the Tabernacle by Moses in the Wilderness. This is not acceptable since the Tabernacle is not mentioned at all in the Megillah.

In my opinion, this holiday was instituted in memory

[201] Graetz, *Geschichte*, III, 2, n. 1. See also Derenbourg, *Essai*, p. 444. Schwab, *Actes du XIme Congrès International des Orientalistes*, Paris, 1897, Section 4, pp. 235–6.

[202] *Aramäische Dialektproben*, p. 32.

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of the dedication of the Second Temple when the Jews returned from Babylon. The dedication is described in Ezra 6. 15: ושיציא ביתה דנה עד תלתה לירח אדר . . . ועברו בני ישראל כהניא ולויא ושאר בני גלותא חנכת בית אלהא דנה בחדוה. 'And this house was finished on the 3rd day of the month Adar, . . . And the children of Israel, the priests and the Levites, and the rest of the children of the captivity, kept the dedication of this house of God with joy.' It is clear that the text must be emended, the correct reading being, not the 3rd, but the 23rd of Adar. The latter is found in the Septuagint and also agrees with 3 Ezra 7. 5, and *Antiq.*, XI, 4. 7.[208] In accordance with the prescribed requirements of Exod. 29, the following seven days were ימי מלואים, days of Consecration. This is also the tradition of the Talmud, which further corroborates the reading of the 23rd of Adar in the biblical text. The Talmud Menahot 45 a reads: ר' יהודה אומר פרשה זו אליהו עתיד לדורשה אמר לו ר' יוסי מלואים הקריבו בימי עזרא כדרך שהקריבן בימי משה. R. Judah says: 'This passage is destined to be interpreted by Elijah. R. Jose said unto him: They observed the sacrifices of consecration in the days of Ezra even as they were observed in the days of Moses.' The passage referred to by R. Judah is Ezek. 45. 18, בראשון באחד לחדש תקח פר בן בקר תמים וחטאת המקדש. What Rabbi Judah could not understand was the sacrificing of a bull as sin-offering on the New Moon, when the burnt-offering of a bull was really the New Moon offering (Num. 28. 11). To this R. Jose rejoined that Ezekiel's description of the sin-offering had no bearing on the character of the days as New Moon, but to the dedication of the Temple which was celebrated on that day, that is to say, just as in the days of Moses the seven days following the completion

[208] Guthe, *Gesch.*, p. 248 and also D. C. Siegfried, ed. D. W. Nowack.

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of the Tabernacle were days of consecration, after which the dedication proper was celebrated; so in the time of Ezra the seven days following the completion of the Temple on the 23rd of Adar were days of consecration, after which, on the 1st of Nisan, the Dedication of the Temple was duly observed by the sacrifice of the sin-offering (cp. Lev. 9. 2). It was on this day also that the Tamid was sacrificed for the first time, or in the words of the Megillah אתוקם תמידא, the Tamid was established, or re-established, and the following week, that is, until the 8th of Nisan, was observed as a holiday.

In this connexion, the following passage in *Seder Olam* (ch. VII) is significant: התחילו (ו' ימי) המלואים בכ"ג באדר ובאחד בניסן שלמו. One is naturally confronted with the question whence did R. Jose, the author of the *Seder Olam*, derive the notion that the Tabernacle was set up 'on the 23rd day of Adar', when in Exodus it is stated explicitly ביום החדש הראשון באחד לחדש תקים את משכן אהל מועד (cp. Exod. 40. 2) and the actual setting up of the Mishkan is described in Exod. 40. 17, ויהי בחדש הראשון בשנה השנית באחד לחדש הוקם המשכן.[204] The view of R. Jose becomes even more perplexing when it is taken into account that Rabbi Akiba, who was R. Jose's teacher, was of the opinion that the ימי מלואים began with the 1st of Nisan, in other words, that the Tabernacle was completed then and not on the 23rd of Adar.[205] If then R. Jose, his pupil, differed

[204] Cp. Ibn Ezra on Exod. 40. 38; Lev. 9. 1.

[205] Sire 68 ed. Friedmann: ויהי אנשים אשר היו טמאים לנפש אדם מי היו ר' עקיבא אומר מישאל ואלצפן שנטמאו לנדב ואביהו. This could only be if we consider the seven days of dedication as having commenced on the first of Nisan and continued to the eighth, and that on the eighth day Aaron and his sons began to offer their sacrifice while Nadab and

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from his teacher, it is strange indeed that he nowhere mentioned the view of his teacher with which he was in conflict.[206]

It is my opinion that the passage of *Seder Olam* here alluded to was corrupted, and that the writer incorrectly substituted Mishkan for the Second Temple, for in the Talmud the terms Mishkan and Mikdash are sometimes interchanged.[207] The second Temple was really finished on the 23rd of Adar and the seven days of Milluim connected therewith ended by the first of Nisan. In *Seder Olam* this was confused with the Mishkan. This corruption early misled the Tannaim and Amoraim, who relied on the *Seder Olam*, in the view that the days of Milluim in the time of Moses began with the 23rd day of Adar.[208]

II. From the 8th thereof until the close of the festival (of Passover) a holiday (of a week) was declared during which it is forbidden to mourn.

The explanation of this holiday according to the Scholiast is that it marked the triumph of the Pharisees over the Sadducees, in the famous controversy regarding the date of Pentecost. The Scholiast does not explain, however, why this period of seven days before Passover should have been chosen as a memorial of that Pharisaic victory. It appears to me that these seven days were really an extension of the

Abihu were burned, and so the seventh day of the purification of Mishael and Elzaphan, who had defiled themselves for the burial of their two cousins, fell on the eve of Passover.

[206] That the Sifra Leviticus 9 likewise experienced difficulty (Shemini, IX, 1) is shown from the passage ויהי ביום השמיני, where it says זה אחד מן הכתובים שצריך לדרוש, for the apparent simple meaning of this יום השמיני is the eighth day of Nisan, but in *Seder Olam* this is made to refer to the eighth day of Milluim. Comp. below, p. 119 note.

[207] Shebu'ot 16 b; Erubin 2 a.

[208] Comp. Sifre Numb. 44.

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preceding week which is celebrated as a holiday following the dedication of the Second Temple, the motive being that as the time was close to Passover, the people could be induced to remain in Jerusalem to celebrate Passover by declaring the intervening period a holiday.[209]

III. On the 7th (5th) day of Iyyar was the dedication of the wall of Jerusalem and it is forbidden to mourn thereon:

The dedication of the wall of Jerusalem is mentioned twice in the Megillah as the cause of a holiday, viz. in connexion with the 7th of Iyyar and in connexion with the 7th of Elul. According to the Scholiast the holiday in Iyyar goes back to the dedication of the wall in the time of Nehemiah (Neh. 12. 27). Graetz[210] adopts the Scholiast's view, saying that even though the wall was finished by the 25th of Elul the dedication ceremonies were put off to the 7th of Iyyar when the city of Jerusalem was re-peopled.[211]

[209] Ezra 6. 19–22; Dalman, *ibid.*, p. 21. Dr. Louis Ginzberg suggested to me that this Yom Tob can be traced to the Hasmonean period: Before Judas Maccabeus's victory over Antiochus and Lysias the Jews were not able to keep the sabbaths and festivals. The first festival which they were in a position to keep after the victory and dedication in Kislev—Passover—found many of the Judeans unclean (through contact with corpses), as battles continued to be fought. Being desirous to offer up the Paschal Lamb, they purified themselves in the seven days between the eighth and the fourteenth, and for this cause they made the whole seven days a Yom Tob—in remembrance of the seven days whereon they had purified themselves before the Passover in order to keep the festival—a thing that they had not been able to do while Antiochus ruled over the Jews. (See Maimonides, Korban Pesaḥ and Notes of Rabaḍ and Semag.)

[210] Graetz, *Geschichte*, III, 2, n. 1.

[211] Graetz, *Geschichte*, III, 2, n. 1, and II, 2, pp. 143–9.

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CHAPTER IX

B. The Period of the Hasmoneans.

IV. On the 23rd (22nd) day of Ḥeshvan they tore down the Sorega from the ʿAzarah.

By Sorega [212] they meant the structure of stones, inter-spaced lattice-work, in the shape of an altar, which the Greeks built in the ʿAzarah and on which they offered sacrifices. To this 1 Maccabees (4. 43–6) alludes when, after describing how Judas repulsed the Syrians (165 B. C.), it tells us that before they set about cleansing the Sanctuary in order to rededicate it, they first purified the ʿAzarah and cast out the stones from the Sanctuary and also tore down the altar. The stones which they threw out from the Sanctuary were those which the Syrians had built up in the ʿAzarah for sacrificial purposes. Although 1 Macc. does not specify the exact date, still what it does say in that connexion, shows that it was before the 25th of Kislev (the dedication) and is to that extent in agreement with this interpretation of the Megillah. To this the Scholiast doubtless refers when he says: מפני שבנו יונים מקום בעזרה והיו מעמידים בתוכו [עליו] הזונות וכשתקפה יד חשמונאים נטלוהו מהן [הוציאום משם] וסתרוהו . . . . והיום שסתרוהו עשאוהו יום טוב.[213]

V. On the 27th of Ḥeshvan they began again to bring the offering of fine flour upon the altar.

According to the Scholiast this holiday commemorates

[212] See ʿAruk, *s. v.* סורג.

[213] See further Derenbourg, pp. 60–2; Schwab, *Actes du Onzième Congrès International des Orientalistes*, section 4, pp. 213–15.

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the victory of the Pharisees over the Sadducees in a controversy concerning the disposition of flour that used to accompany the animal sacrifices, the latter contending that it should be burned with the sacrifice, the former holding the view that this meal-offering (מנחה) should be consumed by the priest. The explanations of the Scholiast, however, are not generally to be trusted, especially in his references to Pharisaic victories. He follows too freely a tendency to trace holidays to victories of the Pharisees when he has no other explanation at hand.[214] If the Pharisaic victories were celebrated in the manner described by the Scholiast it would be strange indeed that no holiday was instituted in honour of the decision with regard to the Water Libation,[215] or of other triumphs which were of far greater import than the point gained in the matter of the meal-offerings.[216] In no case have we in the Megillah a reminiscence of those debates. None of the holidays there enumerated commemorate the triumph of one faction over the other. All point to incidents that were a source of comfort and gladness to the whole nation. There must, therefore, be some other significance to the holiday of the 27th of Ḥeshvan. From 1 Macc. 4. 42–3 we learn that after Judas cleansed the Temple he chose for the Temple service such priests as were qualified to officiate. According to Lev. 6. 13, the priests who were thus anointed had to offer the meal-offering of fine flour. The High Priest, in particular, had to offer up the meal-offering daily.[217] This, we may assume, was the cause of the holiday on the 27th of Ḥeshvan.

[214] Cp. above, Nos. I and II, pp. 72–6.

[215] Sukkah 48.

[216] E. g the decision in regard to the question 'יום טבול'; see S. Zeitlin, 'The ten Takkanot Ezra', *JQR.*, N. S., vol. VIII, pp. 64–6.

[217] Josephta Menaḥot VII, 14.

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Although 1 Macc. makes no mention of the meal-offering of fine flour, it is possible that this is alluded to in the letters which 2 Macc. cites as having been written to the Jews of Egypt *καὶ προσηνέγκαμεν θυσίαν καὶ σεμίδαλιν, καὶ ἐξήψαμεν τοὺς λύχνους καὶ προεθήκαμεν τοὺς ἄρτους* (2 Macc. 1. 8).[218]

VI. On the 25th day thereof (Kislev) is the day of Hanukkah: eight days it is forbidden to mourn.

This is but a terse way of putting the information given in 1 and 2 Maccabees, that after the purification of the Sanctuary they celebrated the dedication of the Temple eight days[219] in the 149th year (Kislev 25, 165 B. C. E.), and made it an annual festival.[220]

VII. On the 28th day thereof (Adar) the good news reached the Jews that they were not to be restrained from the study of the Law. It is not permitted to mourn thereon.

The Scholiast interprets this passage as commemorating the end of the Hadrianic oppression through the successful efforts of Judah ben Shammua' and his colleagues to have the former harsh decrees annulled. Graetz[221] in this instance accepts the view of the Scholiast, and dates the event accordingly, 139/40 C. E. This, however, seems impossible; because such a holiday could not have been instituted so late if it was recorded in the Megillah. Thus in Rosh ha-Shanah 19 b, R. Meir and R. Jose dispute as to whether the festive days mentioned in the Megillah

[218] P. Cassel, *Messianische Stellen des Alten Testaments; Über Megillath Taanit*, p. 111.

[219] Josephus (*Antiq.* XII, 7. 7) calls this holiday Φῶτα (i. e. Feast of Lights). See, Geiger, *Urschrift*, p. 227; Derenbourg, *Essai*, pp. 62–3; Graetz, *Geschichte.* III, 2, notes 1 and 10; Schürer, *Gesch.*, p. 209.

[220] For the establishment of this chronological date see above, pp. 41–3.

[221] Graetz, *ibid.*, n. 1, and IV, 185.

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still enjoyed the same status after the destruction of the Temple. Furthermore, two generations earlier, in the days of R. Joshua and R. Eliezer, the provisions of the Megillah were no longer in force, as for instance in Lydda, where a fast was decreed on Hanukkah, מעשה וגזרו תענית בחנכה בלוד, and it is therefore inconceivable that a new holiday should be added in the times of Judah ben Shammua', a disciple of R. Meir, to a calendar which appears to have already lost its sanctity. Derenbourg's[222] theory appears more plausible, that this holiday belongs to the Maccabean period when Antiochus V granted the Jews religious liberty. The epistle, which Antiochus addressed to the Jewish senate on this subject, was dated the 15th of Xanthicus of the 148th year. *χρῆσθαι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους τοῖς ἑαυτῶν δαπανήμασι καὶ νόμοις καθὰ καὶ τὸ πρότερον* (2 Macc. 11. 31). Derenbourg fails to explain the identification of Xanthicus with Adar. For, usually, Xanthicus corresponds to the Jewish month Nisan. If, however, we adopt the view of Usher, that at that time the Syro-Macedonians used the solar reckoning,[223] it becomes possible that what is here called Xanthicus, the 15th, corresponded with the next to the last (i. e. 28th) day of Adar, the month before Nisan, the date on which in the words of the Megillah the glad tidings reached the Jews that they were not to be restrained from the study and observance of the 'Law'. This took place in the year 164 B. C. E.[224]

VIII. On the 28th thereof (Shebat) Antiochus departed from Jerusalem.

[222] Derenbourg, *Essai*, p. 59.

[223] Usher, *De Macedonum et Asianorum anno solari*, London, 1648.

[224] About this month Xanthicus, see Ideler, *Handbuch der Chron.*, I, p. 426; F. Hitzig, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, p. 410; Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, III, Appendix IV.

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This fête day commemorated an incident recorded of Antiochus Eupator who had besieged the Temple-mount.[225] Judas and his army were no longer able to offer resistance. It was a sabbatical year, and their food supplies were exhausted. They would have been compelled to surrender to Antiochus. But Antiochus suddenly heard that Philippus was marching on Antioch to capture it. Then at the advice of Lysias he made peace with the Jews.[226] This is what the Megillah alludes to when it says, 'On the 28th of Shebat, Antiochus withdrew from Jerusalem.'

Such is also the opinion of Herzfeld.[227] Graetz[228] refers it to the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, and interprets the Scholiast's ושמע שמועות רעות והלך לו ונפל במקומו to mean that Antiochus Epiphanes travelled into Persia and died there. I consider Herzfeld's view correct: that the day commemorates the peace made by Antiochus V with the Jews. For the text of the Megillah reads: אנתנטיל אנמיכום מן ירושלם, and this fits in well with the fact of Antiochus's leaving Jerusalem after concluding a treaty. The Scholiast's observation as to the evil tidings is to be referred to the reports which reached Antiochus V concerning Philip's advance which threatened to result in the capture of Antioch. This fact impelled him to leave Jerusalem to hasten to the defence of his capital, where he was killed not long after by Demetrius I.[229] The holiday dates, therefore, from Shebat 28th, 163 B.C.E. which was a sabbatical year.[230]

IX. On the 14th thereof (Iyyar) is the Minor Passover.

[225] 1 Macc. 6. 28–62 ; 2 Macc. 13. 1–26.
[226] See Derenbourg, *Essai*, p. 63. [227] Herzfeld, *Geschichte*, I, p. 280.
[228] Graetz, *Geschichte*, III, 2, n. 1. [229] 1 Macc. 7. 1–4.
[230] See about the sabbatical years chap. IV.

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The commentators all agree that this is identical with the Pesaḥ Sheni mentioned in Num. 9. 2, which was instituted for the benefit of those who were unclean or, being 'on a distant way', could not reach the holy city by the 14th of Nisan. They were directed to celebrate the Passover on the 14th day of the second month.[231] It seems to me that in this connexion Pesaḥ Ḳaṭan has an entirely different significance. It was a holiday for the nation, not merely for those individuals who were debarred through the above-mentioned exceptional circumstances. The celebration of the 14th of Iyyar is to be connected with the disturbances caused by the wars. Owing to the battles which they fought against the Syrians, the Hasmoneans, who were the chief priests, were away from the Sanctuary during the Passover season (most battles were fought in the spring), and therefore the Paschal lamb could not be offered up in its season, and the Paschal sacrifices had therefore to be postponed to the 14th of Iyyar. On this account the 14th of the year became a holiday in commemoration of the victories over the Syrians.

X. On the 13th of Adar is the day of Nicanor.

The victory of Judas over Nicanor is mentioned in 1 Maccabees as the occasion for making the 13th of Adar a holiday: *καὶ ἔστησαν τοῦ ἄγειν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην τὴν τρισκαιδεκάτην τοῦ Ἀδάρ* (1 Macc. 7. 49; 2 Macc. 15. 36). According to the account of 1 Maccabees that victory was in the year 152 A. S., corresponding in the 162/1 B. C. E.; being in Adar, it must therefore have been in 161 B. C. E.[232]

[231] See Graetz, III, 2, n. 1; Derenbourg, *Essai*, p. 444.

[232] See about this above, p. 12, and note 27. Comp. also below, n. 312. See Derenbourg, p. 63; Schwab, pp. 219–20; Graetz, III, 2 (p. 564); Cassel, pp. 81–4.

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XI. On the 14th[232a] day of Tammuz the book of decrees was removed.

The origin of this also the Scholiast seeks in the controversies between the Pharisees and the Sadducees. I have shown above (No. V) that none of the holidays mentioned in the Megillah are to be traced to this cause. Cassel's view is acceptable, that the event hereby commemorated goes back to the time of Jonathan, and that the holiday was instituted because of the concessions which Alexander Balas and Demetrius granted to the Jews whereby all the decrees of the Greeks were annulled (1 Macc. 10).[233]

XII. On the 7th (4th) of Elul was the day of the dedication of the wall of Jerusalem.

This gala-day very likely goes back to the time of Jonathan. See 1 Macc. 10. 45, where we are told that Demetrius gave his sanction to Jonathan for the rebuilding of the wall of Jerusalem, and even gave him money from his own treasury for this purpose. Another possibility is that it refers to a similar event in the administration of Simon, when he actually built the wall of Jerusalem, to which we find this reference in 1 Macc. 13. 10: *καὶ ἐτάχυνε τοῦ τελέσαι τὰ τείχη Ἰερουσαλήμ, καὶ ὠχύρωσεν αὐτὴν κυκλόθεν.*[234]

XIII. On the 27th of the month Iyyar the tribute from Judah and Jerusalem was discontinued.

The word כלילא is the equivalent of 'crown-money' (*στέφανος*), which according to 1 Maccabees was relinquished by Demetrius II in 170 A. S. (143 B. C. E.) to the Jews who

[232a] See above, n. 165.

[233] Cassel, *l. c.*, p. 107.

[234] See further, P. Cassel, *l. c.*, p. 104.

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had paid this tribute to the Syrians. By this act the Jews were raised to the status of an independent nation, and the yoke of the Gentiles was removed.[235]

XIV. On the 23rd thereof (Iyyar) the garrison departed from Jerusalem.

The year and the day in which the Greeks evacuated the fort are explicitly given in 1 Macc. (13. 51) in its account of Simon's activities. The 23rd day of the second month in the 171st year (142 B. C. E.).[236]

XV. On the 21st day thereof (Kislev) was the day of Mt. Gerizim.

Josephus speaks twice at least of the destruction of the Sanctuary on Mt. Gerizim—in *Bell. Iud.* I, 2. 6, and in *Antiq.* XIII, 9. 1. In Talmud Babli (Yoma 69 a), and also in the Scholia to this Megillah the dismantling of the Temple on Mount Gerizim is attributed to Alexander of Macedon, but it is well known that the Temple on Gerizim

[235] From this year, 170 A. S. (144–3 B. C. E.), they began to count the administration of Simon, but not the rule of the Hasmonean dynasty; this they began two years later, i. e. in the year 172, when in a public assembly it was resolved to confer upon Simon and his descendants the principality of Israel. This took place on the 18th of Elul in the year 172 (141 B. C. E.). *Καὶ ὅτι εὐδόκησαν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς τοῦ εἶναι αὐτῶν Σίμωνα ἡγούμενον καὶ ἀρχιερέα εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, ἕως τοῦ ἀναστῆναι προφήτην πιστόν* (1 Macc. 14. 41). This statement of 1 Maccabees that the Jews accepted Simon as a prince for ever until a prophet should come, means that they gave the office to Simon and his descendants. (Comp. Ezra 2. 63; Neh. 7. 65.) And from ראש השנה of the year 141 B. C. E., they began to count the dominion of the Hasmonean dynasty. To this allusion is made by the *Seder Olam* (XXX), when it says, מלכות חשמונאי מאה ושלש שנים, the kingdom of the house of the Hasmoneans lasted 103 years; from that ראש השנה of the year 141 B. C. E. until the execution of Antigonus, the last ruler of the Hasmonean dynasty in the beginning of the year 37 B. C. (see above, p. 61), was a period of 103 full years. See Merzbacher, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, 1878, pp. 292–319. See also Graetz, III, 2, p. 565.

[236] See Graetz, *l. c.*; Schwab, *l. c.*, p. 222.

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remained intact until Hyrcanus destroyed it in the year 128 B. C. E.[237]

XVI. On the 15th and 16th day of Sivan the inhabitants of Beth-shean (Scythopolis) and of the valley (of Jezreel) were deported.

These two consecutive days commemorate the reign of John Hyrcanus, his sons captured Scythopolis and devastated the valley of Jezreel as far west as the mountains of Carmel after a victory over Antiochus IX, *Bell. Iud.* I, 2. 7; *Antiq.* XIII, 10. 2–3.

Josephus in *Antiquities*, *ibid.* (282–3), tells of a miracle in connexion with this victory. While the sons of John Hyrcanus were carrying on the war with Antiochus IX, their father was officiating in the Temple; as he offered up incense, he heard a voice proceeding from the Holy of Holies, 'Thy sons have conquered Antiochus.' Leaving the Sanctuary he told it to the people; they took note of the time, and it proved to be true.[238] This is similar to what the rabbinical sources tell us: מעשה ששמע יוחנן כהן גדול בת קול יוצאת מקדש הקדשים [ואמרת]. נצחו טליא דאולו לאנטא קרבא באנטכיא [באנטיוכוס][239] וכתבו אתו היום ואותה השעה והיה כן,

[237] Graetz, III, p. 566. According to Josephus the destruction of the Temple on Mount Gerizim took place two hundred years after it was built. Now Josephus states, *Ant.*, XIII, 9. 1 and XI, 8. 4, 6, that the Temple was built by Sanballat for the sake of his son-in-law Manasseh. And that was in the time when Alexander the Great was in Syria, i. e. 333–332 B. C. E., which is to 128 B. C. E. more than two hundred years.

[238] *Φασὶν γάρ, ὅτι κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν, καθ' ἣν οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ τῷ Κυζικηνῷ συνέβαλον, αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ ναῷ θυμιῶν μόνος ὢν ἀρχιερεὺς ἀκούσειε φωνῆς, ὡς οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ νενικήκασιν ἀρτίως τὸν Ἀντίοχον. καὶ τοῦτο προελθὼν ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ παντὶ τῷ πλήθει φανερὸν ἐποίησεν, καὶ συνέβη οὕτως γενέσθαι.*

[239] Here, no doubt, we should read באנטיוכוס instead of אנטכיא, Derenbourg, p. 74.

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ובאותו היום נצח.[240] There is hardly room for doubt that the days whereon the sons of John Hyrcanus won their victory over Antiochus and captured Scythopolis were, respectively, the 15th and 16th of Sivan, just as our Megillah states.

XVII. On the 25th thereof (Ḥeshvan) Samaria was captured.

After a year's siege, about 108 B.C.E., John Hyrcanus captured Samaria. According to Josephus (*Bell. Iud.* I, 2. 7, and *Antiq.* XIII, 10. 3) he destroyed it at the time and turned Samaria into a pond.[241]

[240] Midrash-rabba on Canticles 8. 10; also Babli Soṭah 33 a; Jer., *ibid.*, IX, 24 b; Tosefta, *ibid.*, 13.

[241] Schürer, I, p. 268, n. 22, and Graetz, II, 2, 566–7.

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CHAPTER X

THE ROMAN PERIOD.

XVIII. ON the 3rd of Kislev the ensigns were removed from the Temple-court.

סימותא is borrowed from the Greek *σημαῖαι*, meaning ensign. We see in this statement a reference to Pilate's order to set up Tiberius's statues in the squares of Jerusalem. *Πεμφθεὶς δὲ εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ἐπίτροπος ὑπὸ Τιβερίου Πιλάτος νύκτωρ κεκαλυμμένας εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα εἰσκομίζει τὰς Καίσαρος εἰκόνας αἳ σημαῖαι καλοῦνται* (*Bell. Iud.* II, 9. 2).

The events which led up to this demonstration are described by Josephus both in *Bell. Iud.*, *ibid.*, and *Antiq.* XVIII, 3. 1. When the Jews heard of the order of Pilate they petitioned Pilate not to set up the ensign of Caesar, for according to the Jewish religion it is forbidden to set up any image. Pilate would not listen to them and a few days later he summoned the people, to ask them whether they would consent to the setting up of Caesar's statues in Jerusalem and the people decried the act. Then Pilate commanded the legionaries to fall upon the people with their swords, but when the Jews proclaimed once more that they preferred death by the sword to violating a command of their religion, Pilate weakened in his resolution and ordered the removal of the ensigns from Jerusalem. *ὑπερθαυμάσας δὲ ὁ Πιλάτος τὸ τῆς δεισιδαιμονίας ἄκρατον ἐκκομίσαι μὲν αὐτίκα τὰς σημαίας Ἱεροσολύμων κελεύει.* (*Bell. Iud.*, *ibid.* 3; *Ant.*, *ibid.*) On that day the people

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made a joyful demonstration, for, as the Megillah says, 'On the 3rd of Kislev the images were removed'.[242]

XIX. On the 22nd of Shebat the work ceased which the enemy commanded to bring into the Temple.

This refers to the report of Caligula's death which meant, among other things, annulment of the edict to put his statue in the Temple (*Bell. Iud.* II, 10. 5). The expression בטילת עבידתא is applied to the attempted installation of that image which the Zidonian artists had with great pomp already brought to Sidon (see Philo, *Legatio ad Caium*, ed. Cahn et *Reiter*).

We know that Petronius, desiring to give Caligula opportunity to change his mind, put obstacles in the way of those who wished to set up the statue, and that the work was entirely abandoned when he received a letter announcing that Caligula was killed (the assassination took place on January 24, 41 C.E.).

The Scholiast, though differing slightly in details, substantially agrees with Josephus.[243] He tells us it was the

[242] G. Dalman, *Aramäische Dialektproben*, p. 33.

[243] יום ששלח נסקלנם את הצלמים להעמידם בהיכל ובאתה שמועה לירושלים·ערב יום טוב הראשון של חג אמר להם שמעון הצדיק עשו מועדיכם בשמחה, שאין אחד מכל הדברים ששמעתם יקוים כי מי ששכן שכינתו בבית הזה כשם שעשה נסים לאבותינו בכל דור ודור כך יעשה לנו נסים בזמן הזה שמע קול יבית קדשי הקדשים שהוא אומר בטילת עבידתא דאמר סנאה להיתא להיכלה אקטיל [ניום נוליקם .ו] נסקלם ובטלו גזרותיו . . . וכיון שראה שהיו ממשמשין ובאין אמר להם צאו וקדמו לפניהם . . . כשנודע להם הדברים יצאו לפניו כל גדולי ירושלים אמרו נמות כלנו ולא תהא כזאת, והיו צועקים ומתחננין לשליח אמר להם עד שאתם צועקים ומתחננין (לשליח) [ליק] התחננו וצעקו לאלהיכם שבשמים להושיע אתכם . . . וכיון שנכנם לכרך ראה בני אדם שהיו מוטלין בשוקים על השק ועל האפר לא הניע לאנטיפרס עד שבאת לו אגרת שנהרג נסקלנם ובטלו גזרותיו מיד בטלו את הצלמים . . . ואותו היום . . . עשאוהו יום טוב. Comp. also Tosefta Sotah 13.

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day whereon the images sent by נסקלס (evidently corruption of 'Caius Caligula') would have been set up in the Temple. Report (of the Emperor's purpose) came to Jerusalem on the eve of Succoth. Simon the Just, however, said to them, 'Celebrate your feasts joyfully, for none of these things which you have heard shall come to pass. He who caused his divine presence to dwell in this house, just as he brought to pass miracles for our ancestors in every generation, so will he do for us likewise.' He heard a voice from the Holy of Holies which said that the work was stopped which the enemy commanded to bring into the Temple; Gaskolas is killed and his decree is nullified. And when he saw that the Romans continued to come to the city he said to the Jews, 'Go out to meet them.' But when the Jews learned of the matter (of the images), they said, 'We will die, all of us, rather than allow Caesar's images to be set up.' They cried and supplicated the legate (Petronius). Said he (the legate) to them, 'Wherefore cry and pray ye (to the legate) (to me), pray ye unto your God to save you.' When the legate reached the city he saw the people covered in the streets in sackcloth and ashes. He had hardly reached Antipatris when a letter reached him announcing the death of Gaskolas (Caius Caligula) and his decrees were annulled. That day they made a holiday.[244]

XX. On the 16th of Adar they began to build the wall of Jerusalem.

The holidays of Iyyar 7th and Elul 7th commemorate dedicatory exercises in connexion with the walls of Jerusalem, while on this, the 16th of Adar, we are told

[244] Graetz, III, 2, 573 and note 21; Derenbourg, p. 207, n. 1; Schwab, 244-6; Schürer, pp. 495-506.

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'they began to build the wall of Jerusalem'. Graetz sees therein a reference to the beginning which was made on the wall of Jerusalem and on the fortification of the suburb Parva by Agrippa I in 42–3 B.C.E.[245] He did not complete these operations as the Emperor Claudius bade him to desist from the work.[246]

[245] Comp. Shebu'oth 16a; Tosefta Sanhedrin, III: מפני שתורפה של ירושלים היתה ונותה היא ליכבש משם.

[246] See *Bell. Iud.*, II, 11, 6; Graetz, III, 2, p. 575.

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CHAPTER XI

THE GREAT WAR AGAINST THE ROMANS.

XXI. ON the 14th of Sivan the tower of the fort was captured.

The Scholiast thus explains זו קסרי בת אדום שהיא יושבת בין החולות והיא היתה לישראל יתד רעה בימי יונים . . . וכשגברה יד בני חשמונאים כבשום והוציאום משם והושיבו ישראל בתוכה ואותו היום שכבשוה עשאוהו יום טוב. 'This is Caesarea, daughter of Edom, dwelling among the sands. It was a thorn in the side of Israel in the days of the Greeks, and when the Hasmoneans grew powerful they conquered it and deported its population and settled Jews in its midst. The day on which Caesarea was conquered they made a holiday.'

Graetz[247] argues against the Scholiast's explanation showing that until the time of Herod, Caesarea continued to be inhabited entirely by Syrians and Greeks. It was Herod who settled Jews in that city. Graetz therefore suggests that this holiday indicated the period of Simon the Hasmonean. In this case, however, the text ought to read אחידת בית צור and not מנדל צור.

It appears to me that this holiday is connected with the Revolt, marking in fact, its outbreak, the first Jewish victory (over Florus). As Josephus (*Bell. Iud.* II, 15. 6) tells us, the priests and the people captured the towers of the fortress Antonia which joined that fortress with the Sanctuary; through their thus establishing themselves

[247] Graetz, III, 2, p. 565.

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firmly there and thence controlling the whole city, Florus was compelled to give up Jerusalem.[248] The Antonia was originally called the citadel or tower. Josephus often calls it Baris (*βᾶρις*),[249] phonetically allied to its Hebrew designation הבירה,[250] and only later when the tower was rebuilt by Herod, he named it Antonia in honour of his patron Antony. This citadel was situated on the north side of the Temple, and was originally built by the Hasmoneans.[251] The date of the Megillah, the 14th of Sivan, harmonizes with the date which Josephus assigns to the capture of Antonia, and thus significantly corroborates our interpretation. Josephus says that on the 16th and 17th of Artemisius there were riots in Jerusalem, and that the people swarmed about the army of Florus.[252] Not long after, the priests and the people succeeded in driving out the Romans, and taking possession of the environs of the Temple. They tore down the columns connecting the Temple and the Antonia. All this took place in the twelfth year of Emperor Nero, and, as we have proved, this was 65 C.E. In 65 C.E.

[248] See *Bell. Iud.* II, 15. 5–6 *Οἱ δὲ στασιασταὶ δείσαντες μὴ πάλιν ἐπελθὼν ὁ Φλῶρος κρατήσῃ τοῦ ἱεροῦ διὰ τῆς Ἀντωνίας, ἀναβάντες εὐθέως τὰς συνεχεῖς στοὰς τοῦ ἱεροῦ πρὸς τὴν Ἀντωνίαν διέκοψαν. τοῦτ' ἔψυξεν τὴν Φλώρου πλεονεξίαν· τῶν γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ θησαυρῶν ἐφιέμενος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο παρελθεῖν ἐπιθυμῶν εἰς τὴν Ἀντωνίαν, ὡς ἀπερράγησαν αἱ στοαί, τὴν ὁρμὴν ἀνετράπη, καὶ μεταπεμψάμενος τούς τε ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ τὴν βουλὴν αὐτὸς μὲν ἐξιέναι τῆς πόλεως ἔφη, Bell. Iud.* II, 330–2.

[249] *Ant.* XV, 11. 4; XVIII, 4. 3; *Bell. Iud.* I, 3. 3; 5. 4.

[250] See Graetz, II. 2, p. 145.

[251] *Κατὰ δὲ τὴν βόρειον πλευρὰν ἀκρόπολις ἐγγώνιος εὐερκὴς ἐτετείχιστο διάφορος ἐχυρότητι. ταύτην οἱ πρὸ Ἡρώδου τοῦ Ἀσαμωναίων γένους βασιλεῖς καὶ ἀρχιερεῖς ᾠκοδόμησαν καὶ βᾶριν ἐκάλεσαν . . . τότε δ' οὖν ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων βασιλεὺς Ἡρώδης καὶ ταύτην τὴν βᾶριν ὀχυρωτέραν κατασκευάσας ἐπ' ἀσφαλείᾳ καὶ φυλακῇ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, χαριζόμενος Ἀντωνίῳ φίλῳ μὲν αὐτοῦ Ῥωμαίων δὲ ἄρχοντι προσηγόρευσεν Ἀντωνίαν* (*Ant.* XV, 11. 4).

[252] See *Bell. Iud.* II, 15. 1–2.

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the 17th of Artemisius (4th of June) fell on the 10th of Sivan,[253] and according to Josephus the dismantling of Antonia took place several days after the happenings of the 17th of Artemisius, which is quite in agreement with the 14th of Sivan in the Megillah.

XXII. On the 25th (21st) of Sivan the publicans were removed from Judah and Jerusalem.

The Scholiast explains this paragraph with an Alexandrian legend. When the Ishmaelites, the Canaanites, and the Egyptians made common cause against the Jews, and complained to the Macedonian conqueror that the birthright belonged to Ishmael, that the land belonged to Canaanites, &c., Gebiha ben Pesisa, with the counsel of the Sages, controverted them and, adducing proofs from the Torah that the birthright and the land belonged to Israel, won his case, and that day was immediately declared a Yom Tob.[254] Graetz[255] has rightly pointed out that the דימוסנאי were the Roman publicans or tax-farmers. The holiday is to be explained from the fact that after the defeat of Florus and his retreat from the city the people ceased to pay tribute to Caesar. This fact is mentioned by Josephus; namely, that when Agrippa spoke to the

[253] Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie.* Tafel III. The beginning of the month was sometimes observed two days after the re-birth of the Moon, according to a statement in Rosh ha-Shanah 20–21 b; see also Wieseler, *Chronologische Synopse*, p. 444.

[254] כשבאו בני ישמעאל לעורר על ישראל על הבכורה ובאו עמהם שתי משפחות רעות כנעניים ומצרים אמרו מי ילך וידון עמהם אמר להם (נביהא בן פסיסא . . . לחכמים [תנו לי רשות] . . . ואדון עמהם . . . הניחו (בתיהם כשהם מלאים) שדותיהם כשהם זרועות כרמיהם כשהם נטועות . . . וברחו . . . אותה שנה שביעית היתה ועשו אותו היום יום טוב

[255] Graetz, III, 2, pp. 573–4. See also Derenbourg, p. 46, n. 2; Schwab, pp. 246–7.

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people in favour of peace he reproved them for having ceased to pay tribute to Caesar: *ἀλλὰ τὰ ἔργα, ἔφη, Ῥωμαίοις ἤδη πολεμούντων ἐστίν· οὔτε γὰρ Καίσαρι δεδώκατε τὸν φόρον καὶ τὰς στοὰς ἀπεκόψατε τῆς Ἀντωνίας* (*Bell. Iud.* II, 16. 5). Comparing the two items in the Megillah, we see that it was only shortly after the defeat of Florus on the 14th of Sivan that the people ceased to pay tribute to Caesar, on the 25th day thereof.

XXIII. On the 17th of Elul the Romans evacuated Jerusalem.

Graetz[256] rightly connects this celebration with the Great Revolt. But he errs in identifying this holiday with the request of the Roman army to the Jews to allow them peacefully to evacuate the forts (*Bell. Iud.* II, 17. 10). According to Josephus none of the Romans (excepting Metillius, who saved his life by becoming a Jew) left Jerusalem, for when they left the forts the Jews killed them.[257] Our Megillah, however, says distinctly נפקו רומאי מירושלם, besides which the incident just cited (according to Josephus, *ibid.*, 8–10) did not take place until after Gorpiaeus 6th or September 24th, which this year fell on Tishri.[258]

Graetz fell into error through assuming that Loüs and Gorpiaeus were Jewish months clothed in Syro-Macedonian names, the former being Ab and the latter Elul. This view seemed to find support in Josephus's (*Bell. Iud.* II, 17. 6–7) relation of the Jews' triumph over Agrippa's army after the wood-festival of the 14th Loüs: *τῆς τῶν ξυλοφορίων*

[256] Graetz, p. 574.

[257] *Οἱ μὲν οὖν οὕτως ὡμῶς ἀπεσφάγησαν ἅπαντες πλὴν Μετιλίου, τοῦτον γὰρ ἱκετεύσαντα καὶ μέχρι περιτομῆς Ἰουδαΐσειν ὑποσχόμενον διέσωσαν μόνον.*

[258] See below, XXV, p. 98.

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ἑορτῆς . . . τῇ δ' ἑξῆς, πεντεκαιδεκάτη δ' ἦν Λώου μηνός. This wood-festival is assumed to have been identical with that of the 15th of Ab, which is mentioned in the Mishnah (Taanit 26 a) and in the Megillah. Graetz even suggests that in our copies of Josephus, 15th of Loüs should be read for the 14th.[259] There is no valid proof for this identification, and there is even less justification for this forced emendation. In fact there were nine times appointed in the year which were known as wood-festivals. Thus Taanit 26 a, זמן עצי העם תשעה וכהנים. As I have demonstrated above, the months in *Bell. Iud.* were not Jewish months, but the months of Tyre, which were used in Syria (see above). The month of Loüs therefore (in *Bell. Iud.*) might be either Ab or Elul, and the wood-festival mentioned in *Bell. Iud.* consequently need not at all be that of the 15th of Ab. We may, however, infer that in the year 65 C. E. the 14th of Loüs fell on September 2,[260] and this coincides significantly with the 10th of Elul, which is one of the wood-festivals mentioned in the Mishnah.[261] The event of the 17th of Elul, which is mentioned in the Megillah, therefore took place about a week after the 14th of Loüs, which was none other than the defeat which the Jews inflicted on the army of Agrippa and the army of the Romans, according to Josephus, a few days after the 15th of Loüs. On this occasion Agrippa's army was forced to capitulate in order to secure safe egress from the city, which the Jews allowed, and they departed (*Bell. Iud.*, *ibid.* 8): οἱ δὲ ἔνδοθεν πρός τε τὸν Μανάημον καὶ τοὺς

[259] Graetz, pp. 458, 571; Derenbourg, pp. 109–10, n. 2. See Noris, *Annus et epochae Syro-Macedonum*, I, p. 51; Wieseler, *Chronol. Synopse*, p. 448; Schürer, I, p. 757.

[260] See below, No. XXV, p. 98.

[261] According to the Munich MS. and also British Museum MS.

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ἐξάρχοντας τῆς στάσεως ἔπεμπον, ἀξιοῦντες ἐξελθεῖν ὑπόσπονδοι, καὶ δοθὲν μόνοις τοῖς Βασιλικοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις οἱ μὲν ἐξῆεσαν. This, then, is what the Megillah refers to when it says, 'On the 17th of Elul the Romans evacuated Jerusalem' (Agrippa's troops).

XXIV. On the 22nd day thereof they began again to slay the wicked.

Graetz and Derenbourg[262] understand the Scholiast to refer the origin of this holiday to the Hasmonean era. It is doubtful, however, whether this was the meaning of the Scholiast. These are his words: מפני שהיו יוונים [גוים][263] שרוים בארץ ישראל ולא היו ישראל יכולין לשלוח יד ברשעים שבהם עד שיצאו משם, המתינו להם שלשה ימים אם יעשו תשובה ולא עשו . . . נמנו עליהם והרגום. 'While the Greeks (gentiles) were staying in Judea, the Jews could not punish the wicked among them. After they departed, however, the Jews waited three days for the wicked to show repentance. When they did not repent, judgement was passed upon them and they were executed.'

In any event this interpretation of the Scholiast is not acceptable. The incident here depicted happened less than a week after Agrippa's departure from Jerusalem. The refusal of the 'wicked' describes the attitude of the Roman soldiers who would not surrender and give up their weapons to the Jews. The Jews waited until the 22nd of Elul, but the Romans were still defiant and the Jews again attacked the stronghold and killed the Romans; *ἀθυμία δὲ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους καταλειφθέντας μόνους ὑπέλαβεν· οὔτε γὰρ βιάσασθαι τοσοῦτον πλῆθος ἐδύναντο καὶ τὸ δεξιὰν αἰτεῖν ὄνειδος ὑπελάμβανον, πρὸς τῷ [τὸ] μηδὲ πιστεύειν εἰ διδοῖτο. καταλιπόντες δὴ τὸ στρατόπεδον ὡς εὐάλωτον ἐπὶ τοὺς*

[262] Graetz, *l. c.*, p. 565; Derenbourg, *l. c.*, p. 69.

[263] According to Parma MS.

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βασιλικοὺς ἀνέφυγον πύργους, τόν τε Ἱππικὸν καλούμενον καὶ τὸν Φασάηλον καὶ τὸν Μαριάμμην (*Bell. Iud.* II, 17. 8).

XXV. On the 3rd of Tishri was removed the 'mentioning' from documents.

According to the Scholiast this item belongs to the Hasmonean period. When the Hasmoneans conquered the Greeks they decreed that the Divine Name should be mentioned in public documents, that all documents should bear the formula 'in such and such a year of Johanan, high priest to the most high God', &c. Subsequently the sages annulled the decree on the ground that after the expiration of the deed the bill would be discarded and thus the name written thereon would be exposed to indignity.

Graetz[264] thinks that this goes back to the time when the Pharisees had abolished the use in documents of the phrase בשנת כך . . . כהן גדול לאל עליון since Alexander Tannaeus had become a Sadducee.

It is my belief, however, that this holiday can safely be assigned to the Revolutionary period. After the Judean victory over Agrippa's army on the 17th of Elul and after the incidents of Elul 22nd, when the Romans were compelled to flee and find refuge in the fortresses of the king, the Jews succeeded on the 3rd of Tishri in capturing and setting fire to the royal palaces and in exterminating the enemy. Thereby the Jews completely threw off the yoke of the Romans as well as their allegiance to King Agrippa. It then became natural to remove the names of the Caesar and Agrippa from the public documents and coins. Until then it had been customary to write in all documents, 'in such and such a year of the imperium of such and such a Caesar

[264] Graetz, III, 2, p. 572; Schwab, pp. 228–9; see also Geiger, *Urschrift*, p. 34 n. 1.

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at Rome'. Now, however, when they had won a victory over the Romans and had burned Agrippa's palace, they ceased writing in documents the number of the year of the reigning emperor. It is quite likely that about the same time new coins were issued with the legend השנה הראשונה לגאולת ישראל. The symbol thereon was, in consonance with the character of the approaching festival, the four species in the Lulab, while on reverse was the representation of a Sukkah.[265]

That our identification is correct is seen from Josephus who dates the above event definitely on the 6th of Gorpiaeus (*Bell. Iud.* II, 17. 8). *οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Μανάημον εἰσπεσόντες ὅθεν οἱ στρατιῶται διέφυγον ὅσους τε αὐτῶν κατελάμβανον μὴ φθάσαντας ἐκδραμεῖν διέφθειραν, καὶ τὰς ἀποσκευὰς διαρπάσαντες ἐνέπρησαν τὸ στρατόπεδον. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἕκτῃ Γορπιαίου μηνὸς ἐπράχθη.* The 6th of Gorpiaeus (24th September) in 65 C. E. was the 3rd of Tishri.[266]

Thus, too, this paragraph of the Megillah harmonizes with what we have shown above independently, that from the 14th of Loüs to the 6th of Gorpiaeus is 23 days (17 + 6), while from 10th of Elul to the 3rd of Tishri is also 23 days (20 + 3). In this connexion it may further be pointed out that all these victories were the work of Menahem,[267] son

[265] Graetz, III, pp. 469-70 and note 30.

[266] The beginning of the month Tishri in the year 65 C. E. was 22nd of September, see F. K. Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, II, Tafel III-IV, Leipzig, 1911. See above, note 253.

[267] It may have been due to the popularity of this man Menahem who threw off the yoke of Rome and the Herodian dynasty from the Jews that they gave the name Menahem to the Messiah, or it is even possible that they called him Messiah. The Talmud says the name of Messiah is Menahem. son of Hezekiah, מנחם בן חזקיה שמו, Sanhedrin 98 b, and in Midrash Rabba (to Lam. 1) also it is stated that his name is Menahem and the name of his father is Hezekiah. Comp. also Jer. Berakot 5.

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of the well-known scribe Judas the Galilean, the *σοφιστὴς δεινότατος* whose party seceded from the Pharisees on one point, namely by refusing to recognize the rule of any person or king other than God. *δυσνίκητος δὲ τοῦ ἐλευθέρου ἔρως ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς μόνον ἡγεμόνα καὶ δεσπότην τὸν θεὸν ὑπειληφόσιν . . . ἀνοίᾳ τε τῇ, ἐντεῦθεν ἤρξατο νοσεῖν τὸ ἔθνος Γεσσίου Φλώρου, ὃς ἡγεμὼν ἦν, τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τοῦ ὑβρίζειν ἀπονοήσαντος αὐτοὺς ἀποστῆναι Ῥωμαίων* (*Ant.* XVIII, 1. 6).

Judas had in the time of Quirinus taunted the Jews because of their recognition of the authority of the Romans, whereas according to his view the Jews were of right subject to God alone (*Bell. Iud.* II, 8, 1). So now on the 3rd of Tishri (65 C.E.) the opportunity came to his son Menahem to put into practice his father's theory, i. e. to throw off the yoke of Rome and, consistently with the programme, to abolish the mention of the year of the Emperor or of the Herodian ruler on the documents. This issue which divided Judas and his party from the Pharisees is alluded to in an obscure Mishnah (*Yadaim*, IV, 8) which now becomes clear. אמר גלילי[268] קובל אני עליכם פרושים שאתם כותבים המושל עם השם בנט[269] אומרים פרושים קובלים אנו עליך גלילי

Menahem in Josephus's record was the son of Judas and grandson of Hezekiah. See more about Menahem, S. Zeitlin, 'The last days of Jerusalem', *Jewish Forum*, April, 1918.

[268] In copies of the Talmud the reading varies, צדוקי and גלילי. Here, certainly, either it was Judah himself or one of his party that disputed with the Pharisees. See also Geiger, *Urschrift*, pp. 35, 146; Derenbourg, *Essai*, p. 161.

[269] All editions of the Talmud now extant have המושל עם משה בנט, but that there were copies with המושל עם השם is borne out by the Tosafists (Baba batra 162 a), and this is the correct reading. If we read 'the ruler with Moses', then the answer of the Pharisees to their opponent becomes illogical, as he asked them why they write 'the ruler with Moses',

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. . . שאתם כותבין את המושל עם השם ברף. Thus said [Judas] the Galilean, 'I protest against you, O Pharisees, because you inscribe in the documents the name of the ruler, together with the Divine Name, i. e. by dating the documents according to the reign of Caesar or the Herodian dynasty, you recognize the suzerainty of a power other than God.' The Pharisees replied, 'We protest against thee, O Galilean [Judas], for ye, too, write the name of the ruler on the same page with the Divine Name, i. e. when in the scroll of the Torah you write Pharaoh king of Egypt, by the side of the Divine Name.'

XXVI. The 7th day thereof (Kislev) is a holiday.

The Megillah in this instance does not indicate the reason for this holiday. The Scholiast explains that it commemorated the death of Herod (I). A critical examination shows this conjecture of the Scholiast to be untenable. For it can be proved clearly that the 7th of Kislev was not the date of King Herod's death.

From *Antiq.* XVII, 8. 3. 9. 3, and *Bell. Iud.* II, 1. 1–3, it is plainly to be inferred that Herod died not long before Passover. It is stated there that Archelaus, after the seven days of mourning and seclusion, repaired to the Temple about the time when the people flocked to Jerusalem to celebrate Passover. The 7th of Kislev is seventeen weeks before the Nisan festival. Graetz in defence of the Scholiast transfers the expression 'thereon died Herod' to the

and they answer that in the Torah they have precedent for writing the ruler with the Divine Name. The original reading must have been 'the ruler with the Name', and the word גט led the compilers and others into an error, whereby they considered it equivalent to a writ of divorce, containing the formula כרת משה וישראל (see Tosaphot, *ibid.*), and therefore 'they thought the reading in the Mishnah Yadaim IV, 8 must be המושל עם משה. But here גט connotes any and every kind of document.

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corresponding gloss for the second of Shebat[270] which is also designated in the Megillah יום מב without other qualification, and he substitutes in our passage the gloss 'thereon died (Alexander) Jannai the king' which is found in the present scholia for the 2nd of Shebat. This substitution is not of much avail, for the 2nd of Shebat is fully ten weeks before Passover and therefore does not harmonize with the above cited passage of Josephus. Moreover from *Antiq.* XVII, 6. 4, we learn that not long before Herod's death there was an eclipse of the moon,[271] and we know that in 4 B.C.E. the moon's eclipse was on March 12–13.[272] In that year Passover fell on April 11th.[273] This proves conclusively that Herod died in the end of Adar and not on the 7th of Kislev, or on the 2nd of Shebat.[274]

[270] Graetz, *l. c.*, p. 571. [271] See Josephus, *Ant.* XVII, 6. 4.

[272] Ginzel, *Specieller Kanon der Sonnen- und Mondfinsternisse*, Berlin, 1899, pp. 195–6.

[273] Ginzel, *ibid.* See also Schürer, *Geschichte*, I, p. 416.

[274] Fixing the date of Herod's death is not only important in itself, but has additional interest for those who believe in the historicity of Jesus of Nazareth, whom Matt. (2. 1) states to have been born in Herod's reign. As we have said, Herod died a short time after the eclipse of the moon witnessed in Jerusalem 12–13th March, 750 A.U.C. (4 B.C.E.) according to these scholars; consequently Jesus must have been born before Nisan 750 A.U.C., 4 B.C.E. The common chronology reckoned from his birth is at least four years behind.

Some scholars perceive a difficulty arising from another statement of Josephus, *Ant.* XVII, 8. 1, *Bell. Iud.* I, 33. 8, that Herod ruled thirty-four years *de facto* after his capture of Jerusalem; but from 37 B.C. to 4 B.C. would make only thirty-three years. Schürer expresses the opinion that Josephus habitually adds one year, and that he deduces from Josephus's statement that the interval between Pompey's capture of Jerusalem and by Herod was twenty-seven years, whereas it was only twenty-six years (from 63 B.C.E. to 37 B.C.E.). But I have shown that Josephus counted not mathematical years, but chronological years—i.e. he counted fractions of a year as a whole. Thus the number of the years of Herod's reign will be thirty-four years—he having become king shortly after the capture of

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To properly identify this holiday, it is necessary to consider first why in this and in one other instance, the chronicler of the Megillah refrained from making any explanation regarding the cause of the holiday. Undoubtedly the chronicler's silence in these instances is due to their being recently instituted holidays *pro tempore*. The incidents being well known to all, it was not necessary to add any explanations. The contemporaries, at the time when the Megillah was first drawn up, found it unnecessary to receive any explanations of these incidents. It certainly was not the purpose to present a historical survey for coming generations of Eleazar ben Hananiah ben Hezekiah ben Garon and his associates. Now these men were connected with the Judean revolt against Rome.[275] Their activity falls in the few years preceding the destruction of the Temple. We should naturally look to that uprising to find the important event that signalized the 7th of Kislev, and thus indeed the event may be readily identified.

Josephus, in *Bell. Iud.* II, 19, describes the victory of the Jews over Cestius which took place on the 8th of Dius in the 12th year of the Emperor Nero.[276] This was the year 65 C. E.[277] Now the 8th of Dius corresponds to Nov. 25th which in that year was co-incident with the 7th of Kislev.[278]

Jerusalem—which fell on the 10th of Tebet, 37 B. C., and continued to reign until the end of Adar 4 B. C. See further above, chap. III, and also chap. VI.

[275] About the activity of Eleazar see Derenbourg, *Essai*, chap. XVII.

[276] Τάδε [Ταῦτα] μὲν οὖν ἐπράχθη Δίου μηνὸς ὀγδόῃ, δωδεκάτῳ τῆς Νέρωνος ἡγεμονίας ἔτει (*Bell. Iud.* II, 19. 9).

[277] See above, chap. VI, p. 60.

[278] Ginzel, *Handbuch*, Tafel III; see also note 253. From the sixth of Gorpiaeus—Sept. 24—to the eighth of Dius—Nov. 25—there are sixty-three days; while from the third of תשרי to the seventh of כסלו there are now sixty-four days. This discrepancy is explained by the circumstance that in those days both תשרי and חשון were defective months; see

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Thus, the apparently enigmatical reference of the chronicler to the holiday of the 7th of Kislev, is tantamount to saying, 'The victory over Cestius is quite fresh in your minds.'

The above explanation of the seventh of Kislev is the final link in the chain of evidence which we adduced from the Megillah to support the general thesis of Niese that virtually all of the dates regarding the events of the Great Revolt which occur in *Bell. Iud.* belong to the Tyrian calendar. This particular date which is the 8th of Dius, however, has been utilized by others to prove that the non-Hebrew names of the months in *Bell. Iud.* are only the Roman equivalents for the actual Hebrew calendar, and that the Jewish victory over Cestius on the 8th of Dius corresponded in fact to the 8th of Marḥeshvan. For in describing Cestius's arrival at Lydda, Josephus states that the city was denuded of men owing to their having gone to Jerusalem to celebrate the Feast of Tabernacles. Now the defeat of Cestius took place nine days after his arrival in Jerusalem. If the date of this event be accepted as the 7th of Kislev, then it is impossible to account for the long interval between the known period of Cestius's arrival in Lydda and the inferred date of his coming to Jerusalem.[279] It is therefore argued that the Syro-Macedonian names of the months which occur in *Bel. Iud.* are really the equivalents of the corresponding months in the Jewish calendar, that the name Dius is employed to designate the Hebrew month Ḥeshvan, and that the 8th of Dius is therefore the 8th of Ḥeshvan.

S. Zeitlin, 'The Secret of Badhu', a specimen of 'Jewish Camouflage', *American Journal of Theology*, 1920, p. 504.

[279] Westberg, *Zur neutestamentlichen Chronologie.*

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The chief argument on which this theory is based does not hold water. For Cestius's arrival in Lydda need not at all be fixed as prior to or during the Feast of Tabernacles. On the contrary, he may well have come to Lydda in the beginning of the last quarter of Ḥeshvan and yet found the place empty of men. For the people who went to Jerusalem to celebrate Succoth, seeing that the war had begun, might and naturally would prefer to remain in Jerusalem in order to engage in defensive and offensive operations against the Romans. *Οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι κατιδόντες ἤδη πλησιάζοντα τῇ μητροπόλει τὸν πόλεμον, ἀφέμενοι τὴν ἑορτὴν ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ μέγα τῷ πλήθει θαρροῦντες ἄτακτοι καὶ μετὰ κραυγῆς ἐξεπήδων ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην μηδὲ τῆς ἀργῆς ἑβδομάδος ἔννοιαν λαβόντες* (*Bell. Iud.* II, 19. 2).[280]

Of the Jewish victories over Florus and Cestius we have a reminiscence in Aboth di R. Nathan, chap. IV. When Vespasian came to destroy Jerusalem, the Hagadah tells us, he said to the Jews, 'Ye are fools, why will ye bring about the destruction of this city and this sanctuary—what do I ask of you but a bow and arrow (evidently a sign of subjection and obedience); send it to me, and I shall go away from you.' The Jews replied to him, 'As we vanquished the two generals who preceded thee and killed them, so will we go out against thee and kill thee.' The two former generals were undoubtedly Florus and Cestius.[281]

[280] As to the general support of our assumption of the Syrian character of the calendar in *Bell. I.*, see above, chap. V.

[281] ובשבא אספסינוס להחריב את ירושלים אמר להם, שוטים מפני מה אתם מבקשים להחריב את העור אזאת ואתם מבקשים לשרוף את בית המקדש וכי מה אני מבקש מכם אלא שתשגרו לי קשת אחת או חץ אחת ואלך לי מכם; אמרו לו היהודים כשם שיצאנו על שנים הראשונים שהיו לפניך והרגנום כך נצא עליך ונהרגך. See also Derenbourg, *Essai*, p. 284.

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XXVII. On the 28th of the month Tebet the Sanhedrin sat in judgement.

The word Kenishta, used in the Aramaic, applies to the Keneset-ha-gedolah, which came into being in the days of Ezra, or to the Sanhedrin (Beth-din ha-gadol) which met in the Chamber of Hewn Stones. This holiday serves to perpetuate an event that took place not long after that victory over Cestius on the 7th of Kislev. According to Josephus, the leading men assembled in the Sanctuary to choose generals to conduct the war against the Romans, and we cannot doubt that at the same time they proceeded to set up a republican government in place of the régime that had ceased since the 3rd of Tishri (see above, No. XXV). *καὶ συναθροισθέντες εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν στρατηγοὺς ἀπεδείκνυσαν τοῦ πολέμου πλείονας* (*Bell. Iud.* II, 20. 3). There were at that time two men chosen (Joseph, son of Gorion, and Anan the high priest) as heads of the administration at Jerusalem. This official action is evidence that the Sanhedrin which, according to the Talmud, had been compelled to abandon the Chamber of Hewn Stones (Lishkat ha-Gazit) forty years before the destruction of the Temple, and to meet in a חנות,[282] was now able to take up its old abode after the victory over Cestius. And it is there whence Jewish law should proceed[283] that we find them

[282] ארבעים שנה עד של חרב הבית גלתה סנהדרין וישבה בחניות, Shabbat 15 a, Abodah zarah 8 a.

[283] מחנות לירושלים (R. ha-Shanah 31 a); see Derenbourg, *Essai*, pp. 277-8. Now we can understand a certain Mishnah in Sanhedrin (chap. V, Mishnah 1) which states: מעשה ובדק בן זכאי בעקצי תאנים. The Talmud goes to some length in explaining this Mishnah, to the effect that the great teacher was very careful in a case involving capital punishment, to examine the witnesses in all minuteness; when the fig-tree under which they testified the man had been killed was mentioned he asked whether the

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in session again making provisions in all matters pertaining to the law and the people. There being no other authority or governing body besides them, the Sanhedrin had full power, and all things were done by their command.[284]

There seems to be another reference in the Megillah to the same event:

'On the 24th day thereof (Ab) we again rendered judgements.' It is more than probable that through a copyist's error two dates are assigned for the celebration of this noteworthy event. This is suggested by a comparison of the Scholion to this passage with its parallel in the Talmud (Bab. bat. 115 b). In both sources, the holiday of the 24th of Ab is explained as commemorating a Pharisaic victory in the laws of inheritance. The manuscript readings of the Talmud, however, show a striking variant. MS. Munich reads the 28th of Ab in place of the 24th. The reading of the famous commentator R. Samuel b. Meir (RaShBaM) furthermore reads the 24th day thereof (ביה), and supplies the month of Tebet. Evidently, then, according to him, the event which in our text of the Megillah is connected with the 24th of Ab is to be ascribed

stems were fine or thick, white or black. The Amoraim were somewhat perplexed by this; they could not help wondering how Rabban Johanan ben Zaccai could have taken part in a session of the Sanhedrin when forty years before the destruction of the Temple the Sanhedrin is said to have been banished and deprived of its jurisdiction (see *ibid.* 41 a). But now as we realize that several years before the destruction of the Temple (i. e. in the beginning of 66 C. E.) the Sanhedrin again returned to the Hewn Stone Chamber and assumed jurisdiction, it is intelligible that Johanan ben Zaccai took part in the proceedings of the Sanhedrin. Indeed, after Vespasian captured Galilee, when the Zealots had wrested all power from the Sanhedrin, they had to gather a tribunal of seventy to judge and sentence a certain Zachariah ben Baruch to death (*Bell. Iud.* IV, 5. 4).

[284] *Bell. Iud.* II, 20, 3-4; see Derenbourg, *Essai*, 262-88.

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to the 24th of Tebet. As the same event could not be celebrated on two days which are so far apart, it must be assumed that an error crept into the text of the Talmud which influenced the copyist to corrupt the talmudic passage and hence the Megillah. If our interpretation is correct then the original text of the Megillah did not contain any reference to the 24th of Ab. R. Samuel b. Meir evidently had the original text before him. Thus, too, we explain the fact that the Jerusalem Talmud which records the Pharisaic victory and the entire discussion connected therewith, does not assign any particular day to the event and makes no mention of any ensuing holiday.'[285]

XXVIII. The 2nd of Shebat is Yom Tob.

As was suggested above (p. 102) the bareness of the

[285] With reference to the word ביה Dr. Malter suggests the following: If the Rashbam had in his version of the Megillah, the reading 'on the 24th thereof' in connexion with the month of Ab, it is difficult to see what has forced him to interpret ביה in the Talmud as referring to Tebet. This is the more surprising as the word ביה can only be used when the month to which it is to refer had been mentioned before explicitly by name, e. g. in connexion with the 24th of Ab (where the name Ab is given in the immediately preceding 'on the 15th of Ab') but not in connexion with the event on the 24th or, as the case may be, 28th of Tebet, which is not preceded by any other incident credited to that month. We must therefore assume that in the Megillah of R. S. the incident was recorded only under the 28th of Tebet (not under Ab) and reading in the Talmud, like the Munich MS., בעשרים ותמניא ביה, he felt it necessary to explain that the word ביה, right or wrong, must refer to Tebet as there was no other month in the Megillah to which the incident could be referred. It is true that R. S. quotes בעשרים וארבעה, but this reading may be due to copyists or editors, who wished to harmonize his text with that of the Talmud. Of course, all this does not remove the difficulty why the Talmud quotes ביה instead of בטבת. We must either say that it is an inaccuracy, or that in the Megillah of the Talmudists there was still another incident recorded under Tebet prior to the 28th thereof. See A Schwarz, 'La Victoire des Pharisiens,' *RÉJ.*, v. 63, pp. 51–6.

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statement is an indication that the cause of the holiday was so well known as to require no specification, and that it marked an event that was contemporary with the time when the Megillah was compiled, namely, the period of the great Revolt. It may be assumed that the event which was celebrated on the 2nd of Shebat took place within a few days after the public assembly (28th Tebet) above mentioned, which met to regulate matters and to dispel the chaos prevailing since the 3rd of Tishri (see above, No. XXV). No striking events are known to have occurred then. It may be conjectured, therefore, that the day marked possibly the inauguration of the new officers. It is also possible that the day commemorated the reaching a decision as to what books were Canonical (ספרי קדש) and what were extra-Canonical (ספרים חיצונים.)[286] Josephus's ignoring such incidents is quite in line with his tendency to disparage the leaders of the insurrection who figured therein. Here the Megillah supplies what he omits.

XXIX. On the 12th of Adar is the Day of Tyrion.

The Scholiast accounts for this holiday by the following narrative:—יום טריינום שתפס את לולייגום ואת פפום אחיו בלודקיא: אמר אם מעמ" של הנניה מישאל ועזרה אתם יבא אלהיכם ויציל אתכם מידי כדרך שהציל לחנניה מישאל ועזריה מיד נבוכדנצר אמרו לו הנניה מישאל ועזריה צדיקין כשרין היו ונבוכדנצר מלך הגון היה וראוי היה לעשות נם על ידו, אבל אתה מלך רשע אתה ואין ראוי לעשות נם על ידך ואנו חייבין מיתה ואם אין אתה הורגנו הרבה הורגים יש למקום, הרבה דובים . . . שיפגעו בנו, ואם אתה הורגנו עתיד הקבה" לתבע

[286] ברם זכור אותו האיש לטוב [ואלעזר בן] חנינה בן חזקיה שמו שאלמלא הוא נגנו ספר יחזקאל (Shabbat 13b); Derenbourg, p. 295. It is even possible that the decrees of the house of Shammai and the house of Hillel, known to us as שמונה עשר דבר גזרו בו ביום, also belong to this season and to this tribunal. See S. Zeitlin, 'Les Dix-huit Mesures', *RÉJ.*, 1914, pp. 22-36.

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דמינו מידך אמרו לא נסע משם עד שבאת עלין דיופלה של רומי ופצעו את מוחו בנחרין ובבקעיות. The Day of Tryanos; he captured Lulianus and his brother Pappus in Laodicea. Said he to them: 'If ye be of the people of Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, your God will come and save you from my hands as he saved Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah from the hands of Nebuchadnezzar.' They replied: 'Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah were righteous and pious men and Nebuchadnezzar a noble monarch who was worthy that a miracle should be wrought through him, whilst thou art a wicked king and not fit that a miracle be performed through thee. We deserve death, and if thou wilt not slay us, God hath many other agencies through which to kill us, many bears . . . but if thou killest us the Lord will demand our blood of thy hand.' The story is told that he had hardly moved from the spot when a rescript[287] came from Rome and they killed him.

This story occurs also in the Talmud Babli, and Pesikta Zuṭarta to P. Emor (p. 62). In these parallels, however, the death of Lulianus and Pappus is recorded as having actually taken place prior to the arrival of the Roman rescript.[287a] It is generally assumed that the Scholiast refers to Trajan who died in the year 117 C.E. and that this represents the proper historical interpretation of this holiday.[288]

The version of the Scholiast cannot be applied to Trajan[289] for the latter, as is well known, died a natural death. Nor can the 12th of Adar in any event signalize the death of Trajan, for the event took place in the month

[287] Or διπλῆ = *δίπλωμα*.

[287a] See also Semaḥot, 8.

[288] Graetz, IV, p. 411.

[289] See Dalman, *Aramäische Dialektproben*, p. 34; also Schürer, p. 668.

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of August, after Trajan's return from the Parthian War.[290]

The suggestion which has been made that it was the death of Trajan's general Quietus, which was celebrated on the 12th of Adar,[291] and that the name of Quietus was confused with that of his Emperor, is unacceptable. For while this confusion in names is possibly conceivable in the Scholion or in the Talmud where the motive was to explain a text which was no longer intelligible to them, there is no justification for assuming such a confusion in the text proper. The Scholiast puts in the mouths of Julianus and Pappus the expression אתה מלך רשע 'Thou art a wicked king'. Quietus, of course, was not a king. Quietus was too well-known a name to be lightly confused with Trajan. Cp. סולמום של קיטום. Finally, it is known that Quietus was killed late in the summer or early in the autumn of 118 C. E.[292]

P. Cassel[293] thinks that יום מירון should be read יום סירון, and would see therein a reminder of Judas Maccabees' victory over Seron the Syrian commander. Were this so, however, then 2 Macc., one of whose objects is to indicate holidays that originated in the Hasmonean struggle against the Seleucids, would not have failed to record the day

[290] Comp. Dio 68, 33. 3; *Chron. Pasch.*, p. 253; see Schiller, *Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit*, I, 2, p. 502, and Clinton, *Fasti Romani*, I, p. 102.

[291] Graetz, IV, pp. 411–16. See also Volkmar, *Handbuch der Einleitung in die Apokryphen*, I, pp. 90–100.

[292] Hadrian, on hearing that Publilius Celsus and Aoidius Nigrinus and others had formed a conspiracy to kill him, marched from Pannonia to Rome, and this was about the beginning of August 118 C. E. (Dürr, *Reisen des Kaisers Hadrian*, p. 21). At that time Lucius Quietus also was killed—this was in the beginning of autumn 118 according to Dio Cassius (Schiller, *Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit*, I, 2, pp. 615–16).

[293] P. Cassel, *Anmerkungen zu Megillath Taanit*, pp. 84–6.

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commemorating the defeat of Seron.[294] We must therefore seek for something more plausible.

This memorial day appears to have originated in the war against Rome. טירון in Aramaic means military recruit, as in Syriac ܛܝܪܘܢ, in Greek *τίρων*.[295] When the government was organized and they prepared for war against the Romans, many of the Jewish youth quite naturally volunteered for military service,[296]—the drilling of these young men Josephus mentions in these words: *πρὸς ἀτάκτοις δὲ γυμνασίαις τὸ τῶν νέων πλῆθος ἦν* (*Bell. Iud.* II, 22. 1). This holiday of יום טירון was instituted, then, either in honour of the soldiers, somewhat as they had annual military festivities among the Romans,[297] or, perhaps, in honour of those warriors who followed Josephus to Galilee; in the latter case it would furnish a near date for Josephus's setting out for northern Palestine.[298]

[294] See also Ratner in ספר היובל of Sokolow, p. 500.

[295] See *Thesaurus Syriacus*, p. 1517; Krauss, *Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum*, II, p. 265. טירון in the sense of a new and inexperienced man is found in the Midrash: בשעה שנגלה הקבה" על משה טירון היה משה בנבואה (Exod. 1. 1) 'When the Holy One revealed Himself to Moses, the latter was new in prophecy.'

[296] See also Graetz, III, 2, p. 470.

[297] J. Marquardt and T. Mommsen. *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, V.

[298] What I have said about this holiday originating in the great war against Rome is only a suggestion. It is indeed possible that the reading in the Babylonian Talmud is more correct, יום מוריינום, and that מוריינום, meaning 'king', is a transliteration of *τυραννίς* = *τυραννία*. In that case the holiday dates from the Roman period, from the reign of Herod the Great, the day on which he became *de facto* sovereign, and in an anniversary of which the Temple was dedicated by him. Josephus (*Antiq.* XV, 11. 6) states that the Temple was consecrated on the anniversary of the day on which Herod received the kingdom, and so the holiday became great: *συνεκπεπτώκει γὰρ τῇ προθεσμίᾳ τοῦ περὶ τὸν ναὸν ἔργου καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἣν ἐξ ἔθους ἐώρταζον ἐς ταὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν, καὶ περισημοτάτην ἐξ ἀμφοῖν τὴν ἑορτὴν γενέσθαι* (*Ant.* XV, 11. 6). As we have said above, he

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XXX. On the 17th of Adar, the Gentiles arose against the refugees of Sepphoris in the province of Chalcis and in Beth Zabdai, but there came salvation (to the Jews).

All the critics who have commented on this Megillah have accepted the view of the Scholiast which is contained in the following: [299] כשירד ינאי המלך להרוג את החכמים ברחו מלפניו והלכו להם לסוריא ושרו במדינת קוסליקום (קלי קום .M. O) ונכנסו האויבים עליהם שבאותו מקום וצרו עליהם להרגם והזיעו בהם זיע גדול והכו בהם מכה רבה והשאירו בהם פליטה והלכו לבית זבדי וישבו שם עד שחשכה וברחו משם רבי יהודה אומר סום קשור היה להם בפתח וכל מי שהוא רואה אותו (את הסום) כמדומה שאין שם יהודי וישבו עד חשכה וברחו משם ובאותו היום שברחו משם עשאוהו יום טוב.

'When Alexander Jannaeus descended to kill the Sages, they fled from him, turned to Syria and dwelt in the province of Chalcis. Their enemies in that part of the country attacked them murderously, caused much depredation among them and smote them grievously, and there was left of them a remnant. These went to Beth Zabdai and tarried there until dark, and then they fled.' R. Judah says: 'They had a horse tied at the front of their house and whosoever saw it inferred that there was no Jew within. (Obviously reference is had here to the sabbath when a Jew would have no occasion for a horse.) Thus they remained there until dark and then fled thence. That day on which they made their escape was declared a holiday.'

It has been suggested [300] that this incident is alluded to

captured Jerusalem in the month of January (10th of Tebeth), which makes it quite possible that he assumed the functions of royalty on the 12th of Adar, and made that day a holiday. Some years later, to insure its being kept, he held the dedication exercises of the Temple on that day. The name טוריינום was given to this holiday, as the Jews were not fond of the name Herod. In Ṣedah la-Derek, by Menahem ben Zerah, this day of memorial is not found.

[299] See Graetz, III, 2, n. 1, pp. 570-71.

[300] See Graetz, *ibid.*

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by Josephus (*Ant.* XIII, 14. 2) when he narrates that eight thousand men of war fled from Judea in one night, by reason of their fear of Alexander Jannaeus, and remained in exile until he died. This view is not acceptable, for the Megillah itself specifies that the persecution was inaugurated by עממיא (Gentiles) and no mention is made of a Jewish king. It is clear that the Scholiast was misled by the word ספריא which currently means the Scribes (i. e. Sages), and hence the writer associated the persecution of the ספריא with the persecution of the Sages by Alexander Jannaeus. I venture to suggest that ספריא in this instance is the name of the well-known city Sepphoris and פליטת ספריא indicates the refugees of Sepphoris. The name occurs in the Talmud as צפורייא,[301] in Syriac ܨܦܘܪܝܐ, and in Aramaic סְפוֹרְיָא.[302]

כפר ספוריא in the Jerushalmi (Ḳiddushin 67 d) is taken by some geographers to be the city of Sepphoris.[303] As for its being situated in the province of Chalcis,[304] this is what the Romans knew as Chalcis ad Libanum, and from 44 C. E. Jewish princes reigned there. Claudius gave it as a present to Herod, brother of Agrippa I, whence he derived the name Herod of Chalcis.[305] He was succeeded by Agrippa II.[306] Bet Zabdanai was situated in the Lebanon

[301] Jerus *passim* and Terumah 48 b. [302] *Thesaurus Syriacus*, p. 3436.

[303] Neubauer, *La Géographie du Talmud*, p. 195; Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria*, 1894, p. 241.

[304] Sepphoris, it is true, was in the province of Galilee, but owing to the fact that Agrippa the Second, who was king of a part of Galilee, which he received from Nero (*Antiq.* XX, 8. 4), was at the same time king of Chalcis, which he had from Claudius after the death of Herod, king of Chalcis (*Bell. Iud.* II, 12. 1), the Megillah speaks of Sepphoris as a city in the kingdom of Chalcis.

[305] *Antiq.* XIX, 8. 1; XX, 1. 3.

[306] *Antiq.* XX, 8. 1; *Bell. Iud.* II, 12. 8.

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on the road to Damascus north-east of the province of Chalcis.[307]

We are now in a position to identify this holiday. It clearly belongs to the period of the Great Revolt. In consequence of the Jewish victory over Cestius, the Gentiles throughout Syria, to prove their devotion to Rome, rose against the Jews (*Bell. Iud.* II, XX, 2; *Vita*, 6). In all the cities of Galilee the Jews suffered greatly, and especially in Sepphoris, where most of the citizens belonged to the peace party, and where those who believed in war against Rome were killed or reduced to slavery. A change took place when Josephus came to Galilee; the Jews of Syria and Sepphoris escaped to the cities which Josephus controlled. Quite in harmony with this interpretation is the expression ויהוה פרקן which intimates safety rather than victory. This is quite in line with what Josephus himself says:

Ὥρμησέ γε μὴν Ἰώσηπος ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν (Sepphoris) *αἱρήσειν ἐλπίσας ἣν αὐτὸς πρὶν ἀποστῆναι Γαλιλαίων ἐτείχισεν ὡς καὶ Ῥωμαίοις δυσάλωτον εἶναι. διὸ καὶ τῆς ἐλπίδος ἀφήμαρτεν τοῦ τε βιάζεσθαι καὶ τοῦ μεταπείθειν Σεπφωρίτας ἀσθενέστερος εὑρεθείς. παρώξυνεν δὲ μᾶλλον τὸν πόλεμον ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν, καὶ οὔτε νύκτωρ οὔτε μεθ' ἡμέραν ὀργῇ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διέλιπον δῃοῦντες αὐτῶν τὰ πεδία καὶ διαρπάζοντες τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας κτήματα. καὶ κτείνοντες μὲν ἀεὶ τὸ μάχιμον, ἀνδραποδιζόμενοι δὲ τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς. πυρὶ δὲ ἡ Γαλιλαία καὶ αἵματι πεπλήρωτο πᾶσα, πάθους τε οὐδενὸς ἡ συμφορᾶς ἀπείρατος ἦν· μία γὰρ καταφυγὴ διωκομένοις αἱ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰωσήπου τειχισθεῖσαι πόλεις ἦσαν* (*Bell. Iud.* III, 4. 1).

[307] *Bell. Iud.* VII, 7. 1; see Schürer, I, Beilage I, pp. 722-5, and Marquardt and Mommsen, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, IV, pp. 400-1; Neubauer, p. 295; Baedeker, p. 337.

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The date of the 17th of Adar furthermore agrees with the period of Josephus's arrival in Galilee, which took place in the spring of 66 C. E. This was the last memorial day associated with the Judean war against the Romans. For this Josephus was the man to whom the eyes of all Israel turned with the hope that he would prove a great source of strength to the Jews in his conduct of the war in Galilee, but Galilee was lost to the Jews, and as a result the Sanhedrin lost prestige and power, and the Zealots, split into parties, were the source of destructive anarchy, and the outcome, a few years later, was loss of national independence.

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CHAPTER XII

MISCELLANEOUS.

XXXI. On the 15th of Ab is the season of the wood of the priests (i. e. that the priests brought).

In the Mishnah (Taanit 26 a) we learn of nine periods during the year when the people and the priests brought wood for the altar of the Temples. In the Jerushalmi (Megillah 70 c) 'any and every man who takes upon himself to bring wood for the altar is forbidden to mourn, to fast, or to do any work on that day, which is to him a Yom Tob.' According to this version, therefore, the bringing of wood for the altar is made a general rule, and applies to any of these nine appointed times. It is therefore necessary to understand why the Megillah lays particular stress on the 15th of Ab—making it a general holiday. This is possibly to be explained by the supposition that the other dates were assigned to well-defined classes or shifts, who were to furnish fuel on dates especially assigned to them, but the 15th of Ab was the time when all those who had not joined the group to which they belonged, or who had neglected to bring their wood-offering to the altar, would atone for their remissness.[308] In time it came to be recognized by all Jews as a great holiday, so that the Mishnah states in the name of Rabbi Simon ben Gamaliel that 'Israel enjoyed no holiday greater than the

[308] Taanit, IV, 26 a.

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15th of Ab and the Day of Atonement'.[309] The answers given in the Talmud as to why the fifteenth of Ab became so distinguished a Yom Tob are of late origin, and possess no historical value.[310]

XXXII, XXXIII, XXXIV. The 8th and the 9th of Adar were days of solemn prayer for rain.

The Scholiast explains that these two days commemorate two distinct events of like character which occurred in different years. For to say that these two days commemorate one and the same event would be equivalent to stating that after praying and sounding the Shofar on the eighth day they confirmed or renewed these exercises on the following day. This would be making a fast of two days, which is not allowed. In the Scholiast's words, אם התריעו בשמיני למה התריעו בתשיעי אלא שמיני משנה אחת ותשיעי משנה אחרת. This is indeed logical. The expression in the Megillah, יום תרועת מטרא (and not יומי), proves, too, that these two days belonged originally to different years.

The Megillah makes mention of another memorable day whereon they prayed for rain—the 20th of Adar. This is explained by the Scholiast as follows: there had been a famine and drought in Palestine for three years. As no rain appeared even in the third year the people begged Honi ha-m'aggel to intercede, and furthermore his prayer was answered by the downpour of rain. Cp. Taanit 23 a, שפעם אחת יצא רוב אדר ולא ירדו גשמים שלחו לחוני המעגל. Similarly, Josephus (*Antiq.* XIV, 2. 1), states that once there was a famine in Judea, and Onias prayed to God and rain came.[311]

[309] Taanit, IV, 26 b: לא היו ימים טובים לישראל כחמשה עשר באב וביום הכפורים.

[310] See Taanit, 30 b.

[311] Graetz, *ibid.* (See further Derenbourg, *ibid.*, pp. 112–13, and P. Cassel, *ibid.*, pp. 111–19.)

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XXXV. On the 14th and 15th are the days of Purim.

In regard to these holidays there is extant the scroll of Esther. There (9. 17–19) we are told that the Jews of Susa kept the 15th day of Adar as a holiday, whereas the Jews in unfortified cities kept the 14th. In 2 Maccabees there is undoubted reference to the feast of Purim in the statement that the day of Nicanor is on the 13th of Adar, 'one day before the day of Mordecai' (*πρὸ μιᾶς ἡμέρας τῆς Μαρδοχαϊκῆς ἡμέρας*).[312]

[312] 1 Maccabees, when it speaks of the holiday, 13th of Adar, commemorating the victory of Nicanor, makes no allusion to Purim. This fact caused many hypotheses. Some think that 1 Maccabees was written in Palestine, and that in Palestine the festival was not thus observed, being introduced later from the Diaspora.

However, as I demonstrated above, p. 82, Nicanor was killed in the 1st Adar of the year 152 A.S. (161 B.C.E.)—this year being leap year, and this explains why the day of Purim is not mentioned, as it was celebrated in Adar 2. In 2 Maccabees, where the material is drawn from the books of Jason of Cyrene, written in the Diaspora, the statement 'before the day of Mordecai' may be due to unconsciousness of the fact that Nicanor was killed in the 1st Adar. Confusion could have arisen from the fact that in short years these festivals fall on consecutive days.

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NOTES

Note 1 (pp. 73–5).—R. Judah's question probably was not, 'Why does Ezekiel refer to a bull as sin-offering on New Moon (when we know that the bull was sacrificed on the New Moon as a burnt-offering)?' He wishes apparently to know why Ezekiel in the matter of New Moon observance should say ותמאת את המקדש? R. Jose disposes of this by saying that it has reference not to New Moon celebration, but to the dedication of the Second Temple, the last day of which fell on the New Moon of Nisan. As to the confusion worse confounded in the statement of Seder 'Olam that the Tabernacle was finished on Adar the 23rd, Dr. Ginzberg quite aptly suggests that R. Jose, the author of the Seder 'Olam, knowing that the Second Temple was dedicated on the 23rd Adar, was confronted by the question, 'Why did not Ezra follow the precedent set by Moses and wait for the first of Nisan?' To dispose of such disparagement of the Scribe, he 'harmonized' the passages by saying that the date given in reference to the Tabernacle is really the last of the seven days of dedication, which ceremony began on the 23rd of Adar, the date of the actual completion, although completion in another sense, Dedication, was still requisite.

Note 2.—Since the publication of my treatise on the Chronology of the Maccabees, two scholars have dealt with the subject: Mahler in his *Handbuch der Jüdischen Chronologie*, Leipzig, 1916, and Bornstein in his 'תאריכי ישראל' IX, התקופה. The former adds nothing new, as he accepts the general view that in 1 Macc. the Era of Sel. must be considered as beginning Nisan 312 B.C.E. As for the latter, in attempting to show full agreement between 1 and 2, he is led to deny or to ignore all chronological contradictions or discrepancies, and even makes a vital error in stating that the year of the assassination of Simon was Sabbatic (p. 311), whereas it is known from Josephus to have been pre-Sabbatic. Bornstein, contending that 1 and 2 Macc. in their adoption of Aer. Sel. count from the same date, bases his belief mainly on the argument: 1 Macc. 7. 1 states that Demetrius became king in 151 Aer. Sel., and 2 Macc. 15. 4 tells us also that Alcimus came to Demetrius in 151, hence no evidence of variation in eras existed.

I have, however, shown that the year 151, in the mind of the author of 1 Macc., is really from the Autumn of 163 to the Autumn of 162 B.C.E. (see above, p. 44, and note 27), and as Niese, *Geschichte*, III, p. 246, has demonstrated, it was in the summer of 162 B.C.E. that Demetrius became king. So in the autumn following that event Alcimus will have come before Demetrius—clearly, then, it will be seen that what 2 Macc. designates as 151 A.S. is not identical with what 1 Macc. designates 151 A.S.

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